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**English synonyms from the syntagmatic perspective in intrasentential context**

Anglická synonyma ze syntagmatického hlediska ve větném kontextu

## **Podakovanie**

Na tomto mieste by som chcel poďakovať predovšetkým vedúcemu svojej diplomovej práce, prof. PhDr. Alešovi Klégrovi, za jeho cenné postrehy, ochotu viesť a usmerňovať ma pri písaní a v neposlednom rade za jeho trpezlivosť. Moja vďaka patrí ďalej všetkým, ktorí pri mne v tomto období stáli a podporovali ma.

### **Prohlášení**

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracoval samostatně, že jsem řádně citoval všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

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## Abstract

Sense relations, traditionally regarded as primarily paradigmatic, have been shown to carry syntagmatic implications. The present thesis explores intrasentential synonym co-occurrence in order to identify characteristic patterns of such co-occurrence and to explain it with reference to the functions it performs in discourse. The theoretical part provides an overview of both general treatments of synonymy and the studies that deal with co-occurring synonyms. The analysis itself is based on two hundred and thirty sentences retrieved from the British national corpus that contain pairs of co-occurring adjectival synonyms such as *confident-sure*, *faithful-loyal* or *brave-courageous*.

The findings suggest that adjectival synonyms co-occurring in the same sentence are typically coordinated (60% of analysed sentences) in order to signal semantic inclusiveness (e.g. *a covetous and grasping man*). Minor patterns of synonym co-occurrence, which accounted for 2% of the analysed sentences, include the scalar pattern (e.g. *smooth*, nearly *urbane*) and the negated pattern (e.g. *cruel*, not *savage*). The remaining sentences featured synonyms which did not form distinct patterns and were, accordingly, classified as instances of variation as their co-occurrence is likely to have been influenced by a desire to avoid repeating the same word. The results of the analysis show that co-occurring synonyms do recur in syntagmatic patterns, but these are far less varied and robust than the patterns displayed by co-occurring antonyms.

## Abstrakt

Nedávne štúdie ukázali, že významové vzťahy, štandardne považované za paradigmatické, sa prejavujú aj na syntagmatickej rovine. Táto diplomová práca skúma synonymá, ktoré sa vyskytujú spoločne v rámci jednej vety. Primárnym cieľom práce je identifikovať charakteristické schémy spoluvýskytu synonymým a vysvetliť ich s odkazom na funkcie, ktoré plnia vo vetnom kontexte. Teoretická časť podáva prehľad štandardných spracovaní synonymie a sumár štúdií, ktoré sa zaoberajú spoločne sa vyskytujúcimi synonymami. Samotná analýza sa opiera o dvestotridsať viet z Britského národného korpusu, ktoré obsahujú synonymické dvojice, ako sú napríklad *confident-sure* (*presvedčený-istý*), *faithful-loyal* (*verný-lojálny*) alebo *brave-courageous* (*odvážny-statočný*).

Analýza ukázala, že rovnoznačné adjektíva sa zväčša (v 60% analyzovaných prípadov) vyskytujú v koordinovaných dvojiciach a slúžia na to, aby naznačili inkluzívnosť (napr. *a covetous and grasping man* (chamtivý a hrabivý muž)). Menej významné schémy spoluvýskytu, ktoré zodpovedali dvom percentám analyzovaných viet, zahŕňajú tzv. škálovú schému (napr. *smooth, nearly urbane* (*jemný, skoro uhladený*)) a tzv. schému zrušenia synonymie (napr. *cruel, not savage* (*krutý, nie divý*)). Zvyšné vety obsahovali synonymá, ktoré nevstupovali do jasne odlíšených schém. Boli preto charakterizované ako prejavy štýlovej variácie, keďže ich spoluvýskyt bol pravdepodobne ovplyvnený snahou vyhnúť sa opakovaniu rovnakého slova. Výsledky analýzy ukazujú, že spoločne sa vyskytujúce synonymá vstupujú do syntagmatických schém, ale tie sú omnoho menej rôznorodé a početné než schémy spoločne sa vyskytujúcich antoným.

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# 1 Introduction

‘Resemblance imposes adjacencies that in their turn guarantee further resemblances.’

Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, p. 20

Synonymy is considered one of the prototypical paradigmatic relations in a language. In their descriptions of synonyms, linguists and philosophers alike have long focused mainly on systemic matters of substitutability and the kinds and degrees of semantic overlap between synonyms, which meant that their actual usage in natural language has not received much attention. Using corpus methods, the present thesis aims to remedy this deficiency by examining how language users work with synonyms within the scope of a sentence.

In other words, this study replaces the dominant paradigmatic approach to studying lexical relations with a syntagmatic one. Adapting Jones’s (2002) methodology originally employed for antonyms, it aims to discover typical frameworks of synonym co-occurrence and to match them with possible discourse functions. The focus is placed primarily on mapping the diversity of patterns and comparing them with those identified for antonymous pairs.

The thesis opens with an overview of six major treatments of synonymy and a synthesis of relevant studies and scattered remarks related to synonym co-occurrence. The research project section then presents the research questions underlying the thesis as well as the methodology employed in selecting the synonym pairs and sentences for analysis from the British national corpus. Finally, the patterns and functions of co-occurring synonyms are presented, analysed and contrasted with Jones’s (2002) findings with a view to establishing unique characteristics of synonym co-occurrence.

## 2 Theoretical background

### 2.1 Synonymy – cutting up a heterogeneous semantic space

Although the word *synonym* is fairly familiar even to non-linguists, synonymy as such defies easy definition that would provide a foolproof and incontestable method for deciding which words are synonymous. If we disregard the intuitive sense of synonymy each of us has<sup>1</sup>, delimiting exactly what falls under the concept of synonymy becomes a tricky matter, as can be demonstrated by looking at various definitions proposed by linguists over the past century. No matter how varied their definitions, however, most linguists concur, be it explicitly or implicitly, that synonymy is a scalar concept and that, consequently, some pairs of words are more synonymous than others.

The scalar character of synonymy is tied to the fact that accounts of synonymy normally work not only with the notion of identity but also with the notion of similarity. It is in making the former or the latter a necessary condition for the description of two words as synonyms that definitions of synonymy typically differ. The practice of invoking identity as the defining trait of synonymy has a long tradition not only in literature on semantics, where it is understood as identity of meaning (notably in Lyons (1971; 1995)), but also in philosophical literature, which operates with identity of truth-conditions of sentences in deciding which two words are synonymous. Similarity, on the other hand, forms the basis of other accounts, such as Cruse's, who defines synonyms as 'words whose semantic similarities are more salient than their differences' (Cruse, 2004: 154).

Still, even those approaches that make identity of meaning a necessary condition for synonyms have to acknowledge the everyday use of this term and hence invent different labels for phenomena that do not meet their strict criteria but are still popularly seen as synonyms. In the same way, those approaches that consider similarity of meaning sufficient for the description of two words as synonyms have to recognize (at least in theory) the existence of a point where similarity turns into identity.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Murphy (2013) for a corpus-based study of the word *synonym* which demonstrates how laypeople employ this concept.

In effect, no matter what the approach taken, the scalar nature of synonymy necessitates drawing lines that will more or less arbitrarily divide the continuum of similarity/difference in order to separate synonymy from non-synonymy. Cruse suggests visualizing this continuum as 'a series of concentric circles, with the origin at the centre, rather than as a line' (Cruse, 1986: 268) in order to capture the fact that synonyms, i.e. those of the non-identical type, may differ along various axes. If we accept this visualization, the differences in theoretical delimitations of synonymy may be imagined as the different radii of circles superimposed upon a mass of synonyms.

It might seem that the ways in which synonyms differ are of minor importance for a study of synonym co-occurrence. Nevertheless, the various subtypes and subcategories of synonymy that have been proposed by lexical semanticists could prove valuable in that they may display distinct patterns of co-occurrence. The following sections, therefore, briefly summarize major conceptions of synonymy as proposed by Ullmann, Lyons, Cruse and Murphy with a particular focus on how they define absolute synonyms (i.e. generally those that operate, in some way or other, with the notion of identity) and how they structure the area occupied by non-absolute synonyms (i.e. those that are delimited in terms of similarity).

## **2.2 Major treatments of synonymy**

### **2.2.1 Stephen Ullmann: *Semantics. An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* (1962)**

Ullmann does not provide a general definition of synonymy as such, but he does make a distinction between complete/absolute<sup>2</sup> synonymy and the non-absolute kind of synonymy. For him, absolute synonyms are 'interchangeable in any context without the slightest alteration in objective meaning, feeling-tone or evocative value' (Ullmann, 1962: 142). Whenever a pair of alleged synonyms does not meet all of these criteria, it means that the proposed synonyms are not absolute. Contrary to the prevailing belief in the non-existence of absolute synonyms<sup>3</sup>, Ullmann proposes several potential candidates drawn mainly from technical nomenclatures. For instance, he suggests *caecitis* and

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<sup>2</sup> Ullmann uses these two terms interchangeably.

<sup>3</sup> As Cruse vividly puts it, 'natural languages abhor absolute synonyms just as nature abhors a vacuum' (Cruse, 1986: 270)

*typhlitis*, two terms for an inflammation of the blind gut, *spirants* and *fricatives*, *semantics* and *semasiology* and a German pair of *Lautlehre* and *Phonetik*.

The point he is trying to make is that ‘several synonyms will sometimes arise around a new invention, until they are eventually sorted out’ (Ullmann, 1962: 141) and that ‘such synonymy may even persist for an indefinite period’ (ibid.). It seems that in the case of *spirants* and *fricatives*, the latter has already won the battle. Similarly, *semantics* is clearly the term preferred over *semasiology*. The last German example has an interesting parallel in Czech which also features similarly patterned pairs of words (*hláskosloví* and *fonetika*) denoting scientific disciplines where a foreign word competes with a native one. For example, the word *chemie* (chemistry), which is of foreign origin, has a competitor in native *lučba*. In Czech, however, the native term has come to be regarded as archaic and hence the two words do not qualify as absolute synonyms because they differ stylistically<sup>4</sup>.

It is important to note that unlike some other linguists, Ullmann ties synonymy to lexical units<sup>5</sup>. *Decline*, then, is synonymous with *reject* in one of its senses when it means the opposite of *accept*, but not when it means the opposite of *rise*. It follows that his concept of absolute synonymy does not extend to demanding interchangeability of lexical items with all of their senses.

Moving to the sphere of non-absolute synonyms, Ullmann cites W.E.Collinson (1939: 61) who distinguishes nine most typical differences between synonyms:

- (1) One term is more general than another: *refuse* – *reject*.
- (2) One term is more intense than another: *repudiate* – *refuse*.
- (3) One term is more emotive than another: *reject* – *decline*.
- (4) One term may imply moral approbation or censure where another is neutral: *thrifty* – *economical*
- (5) One term is more professional than another: *decease* – *death*.

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<sup>4</sup> Stylistic variation is contained in Ullmann’s ‘evocative value’ presumably because of the potential of a specific word to evoke characteristic contexts (legal, literary etc.)

<sup>5</sup> By lexical unit I mean a union of one form and one meaning.

- (6) One term is more literary than another: *passing* – *death*.
- (7) One term is more colloquial than another: *turn down* – *refuse*.
- (8) One term is more local or dialectal than another: Scots *flesher* - *butcher*
- (9) One of the synonyms belongs to child-talk: *daddy* – *father*.

Ullmann then groups Collinson's 9 types of differences into several categories using his theoretical distinctions between various types of meaning. He regards the first type of difference as the only one that derives from objective differences, type two is said to combine objective and emotive factors, types three and four differ in emotive meaning while types five, six and seven involve evocative effects, which are 'a special type of emotive meaning' (Ullmann, 1962: 143).

### **2.2.2 John Lyons: *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (1968)**

Lyons is well aware of the distinction between what he calls 'a stricter and a looser sense of "synonymy"' (Lyons, 1968: 446). Not surprisingly, the stricter sense is the one based on identity of sense while the looser understanding of synonymy corresponds to the everyday use of the term as it only requires that the senses of two words be similar.

Lyons objects to Ullmann's definition of absolute synonymy arguing that it 'combines two radically different criteria and prejudges the question of their interdependence' (Lyons, 1968: 448). He argues that the criteria of interchangeability and identity of cognitive and emotive import are not necessarily connected. Accordingly, he proposes a theoretical distinction between complete and total synonymy. Complete synonymy is based on the identity of cognitive as well as emotive sense while total synonymy is defined in terms of interchangeability in all contexts. Lyons concurs that absolute synonymy may be understood as a union of total and complete synonymy, but the theoretical distinction allows him to distinguish three more possible kinds of synonymy: complete, but not total; incomplete, but total; incomplete, and not total.

Not all the combinations are equally interesting from a theoretical point of view. This and the fuzzy boundary between cognitive and emotive meaning is presumably the reason why Lyons only selects

cognitive synonymy, which he defines in terms of bilateral implication, for further description. In addition, the whole concept of total synonymy is somehow undermined by Lyons's observation that synonymy is context-dependent 'more than any other sense-relation' (Lyons, 1968: 452). It is not entirely clear whether context-dependence is to be understood as characteristic of all kinds of synonymy or just some of them. It seems, however, that the latter is the case.

### **2.2.3 John Lyons: *Linguistic Semantics. An Introduction* (1995)**

Lyons's later monograph offers a much more comprehensive look at synonymy which is at the same time strikingly different from his treatment of the topic in his *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. First of all, Lyons offers clear-cut criteria for distinguishing various kinds of synonymy. The three main categories that he identifies are: absolute synonymy, partial synonymy and near-synonymy. Two expressions are absolute synonyms if all of the following conditions are satisfied:

- (i) all their meanings are identical;
- (ii) they are synonymous in all contexts;
- (iii) they are semantically equivalent (i.e. their meaning or meanings are identical) on all dimensions of meaning, descriptive and non-descriptive.

(Lyons, 1995: 61)

While absolute synonyms satisfy all of the three conditions, partial synonyms satisfy at least one but not all of them. Lyons emphasizes that the conditions are logically independent of each other. Finally, near-synonyms do not meet any of the three criteria but are still 'more or less similar' (Lyons, 1995: 60) in meaning.

The requirement (i) for absolute synonymy makes it clear that Lyons now works with synonymy of lexemes<sup>6</sup>, not only lexical units. The second requirement refines his earlier assertion that synonymy is context-dependent by showing that absolute synonymy is context-independent. Unfortunately,

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<sup>6</sup> More precisely, he extends the concept of synonymy to expressions, which may range from lexically simple to lexically complex expressions. This extension is fully in keeping with the modern concept of lexeme.

Lyons only provides examples for near-synonyms and not for the different types of partial synonyms, although he does illustrate the distinctions using the adjectives *big* and *large*. Thus, while his categorization of synonymy is well founded, it is not entirely clear if there are sufficiently convincing examples for the kinds of partial synonymy he identifies in actual language.

In conclusion, Lyons is mainly concerned with fine-tuning the absolute pole of synonymy and with all the logically possible kinds of synonymy. Consequently, his distinctions are of lesser importance to the present thesis.

#### **2.2.4 D.A. Cruse: *Lexical Semantics* (1986)**

Cruse presents a slightly more detailed picture of synonymy. His definition of absolute synonymy, however, is not that different from the one proposed by Lyons<sup>7</sup>. Cruse holds that ‘two lexical units would be absolute synonyms [...] if and only if all their contextual relations [...] were identical.’ (Cruse, 1986: 268) The main difference lies in the fact that, unlike Lyons, Cruse thinks of synonymy in terms of lexical units and, consequently, he does not postulate a requirement of identity for all the meanings of lexemes. Cruse admits that absolute synonyms are extremely uncommon and that ‘there is no obvious motivation for the existence of absolute synonyms in a language’ (Cruse, 1986: 270).

The next type of synonymy on the scale of synonymity proposed by Cruse is propositional synonymy (also called by him cognitive synonymy). Propositional synonyms are mutually entailing so that sentences which only differ in the synonym in question have the same truth-conditions. Since they are not absolute, propositional synonyms may differ along certain axes. Cruse notes that they ‘must be identical in respect of propositional traits, but they may differ in respect of expressive traits’ (Cruse, 1986: 273). Accordingly, pairs such as *infant-baby* or *go on-continue* are propositional synonyms.

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<sup>7</sup> Cruse himself comments on this point stating that his definition of absolute synonymy is ‘effectively not very different from a conflation of Lyons’s [conditions] (ii) and (iii)’ (Cruse, 1986: 292).

The axes of permissible difference are tied both to semantic co-occurrence restrictions, which may differ for propositional synonyms, and to the so-called evoked meaning, which is ‘a consequence of the existence of different dialects and registers within a language’ (Cruse, 1986: 282). Accordingly, pairs such as *bootlicker-sycophant* or *wedlock-matrimony* are also propositional synonyms. Briefly, only such differences among putative synonyms that do not affect the truth-value of containing sentences are permissible for their characterization as propositional synonyms.

Further down the scale of synonymity lie plesionyms, which ‘are distinguished from cognitive synonyms by the fact that they yield sentences with different truth-conditions.’ (Cruse, 1986: 285) Consequently, they are not mutually entailing. Cruse observes that ‘there is always one member of a plesionymous pair which it is possible to assert, without paradox, while simultaneously denying the other member’ (ibid.) and proposes a test for the identification of plesionyms using test phrases *more exactly* and *not exactly*. As he demonstrates, these do not collocate with propositional synonyms nor with non-synonyms and thus they are characteristic of plesionyms.

Cruse points out that unlike absolute synonymy, which can be defined with some precision, non-synonymy defies precise delimitation. As a result, ‘plesionymy shades gradually into non-synonymy.’ (Cruse, 1986: 288)

### **2.2.5 D.A. Cruse: *Meaning in Language* (2004)**

In his later book, *Meaning in Language* (2004), Cruse retains the tripartite division of synonymic space into absolute synonymy, propositional synonymy and near-synonymy (a term replacing plesionymy) without making any major changes. For the present purposes, it may be fruitful to quote his revised typology of permissible differences between plesionyms (now called near-synonyms). These, he says, ‘must be either minor, or backgrounded, or both’ (Cruse, 2004: 157).

Minor differences include the following:



- (i) adjacent position on scale of 'degree': *fog:mist, laugh:chuckle, hot:scorching, big:huge, disaster:catastrophe, pull:heave, weep:sob*
- (ii) certain adverbial specializations of verbs: *amble:stroll, chuckle:giggle, drink:quaff*
- (iii) aspectual distinctions: *calm:placid* (state vs. disposition)
- (iv) difference of prototype centre: *brave* (prototypically physical):*courageous* (prototypically involves intellectual and moral factors)

An example of a backgrounded major distinction is, for instance, neutralization of the presupposed features of 'female' and 'male' in *pretty* and *handsome* respectively when placed in a specific context.

#### **2.2.6 M. Lynne Murphy: *Semantic Relations and the Lexicon* (2003)**

Murphy presents a rather different take on synonymy. If all the above-mentioned approaches to synonymy were mainly interested in synonymy as a relation that holds between units in a language system, Murphy shifts the interest to language in use. Consequently, she adopts a pragmatic perspective where synonymy is no longer seen as a relatively stable relation holding between language items but rather as a fluid and context-dependent relation, which means that 'any pair of words is potentially synonymous' (Murphy, 2003: 168).

It is not surprising, then, that Murphy does not concern herself with defining absolute synonymy. While she does define synonymy in terms of difference and identity, as is usual in semantics literature, it is interesting to note that her only context-independent requirement for synonymy is that the two forms of assumed synonyms be different. She stipulates that 'a synonym set includes only word-concepts that have all the same contextually relevant properties, but differ in form' (Murphy, 2003: 134). This broad definition, which easily accommodates different subtypes of synonymy, could be understood as a capitulation in the face of the baffling phenomenon of synonymy, yet it could also be perceived as a realistic attempt at describing how synonymy and synonym judgments operate in actual language.

Murphy's account consistently shows the advantages of adopting her 'metalinguistic' approach as she manages to fit all the different subtypes and varieties of synonymy into her definition. In addition, she deals with the alleged properties of synonymous sets such as reflexivity, symmetry, transitivity, substitutability, interchangeability and binarity showing their limitations and inapplicability to most synonyms barring absolute ones (Murphy, 2003: 157-160).

Perhaps the most important of Murphy's observations for the purposes of the present thesis is her discussion of binarity of synonyms. Even though the relation of synonymy may potentially hold between any number of items and is by no means exclusive to pairs of words, Murphy (2003: 160) remarks that within a larger set of synonyms 'two members [...] might seem closer in meaning or use than the others, and so a perception of synonym binarity may arise from the comparison process involved in finding and testing synonyms'. It might be the case that frequent co-occurrence may also contribute to the feeling of synonym binarity, or, more generally, correlate with their closeness within a synonym set.

## **2.3 Co-occurrence of synonyms in texts**

Synonymy is one of the basic paradigmatic relations in a language. As a result, most linguists have concentrated on describing synonymic relations *in absentia*, i.e. between a particular word and its potential replacement within a given context. Less attention has been given to such cases where synonymic relations hold *in praesentia* between two or more co-occurring synonyms. Still, one can find occasional remarks on such co-occurrence scattered in a number of standard treatments of synonymy. The present section presents a summary of these remarks and attempts to synthesise them in order to provide a framework of reference for the research project.

### **2.3.1 Functions of co-occurring synonyms**

Synonyms that co-occur in a text can fulfil a variety of functions. Perhaps the most important and frequently remarked upon is the avoidance of having to repeat the same word when expressing the same or a similar idea. This **stylistic** function has been labelled by Ullmann (1962: 152) as variation.

Typically, variation corresponds to intersentential usage where the members of a synonymic pair/set occur in separate sentences.

The intersentential use of synonyms may also serve as a form of lexical **cohesion** (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 278; Stubbs, 1998: 405). From the textual point of view, the use of synonyms as a means of establishing lexical cohesion 'solves the communicative problem of how to get as much information into as economical a form as possible' (Murphy, 2003: 165).

Sometimes, however, synonyms also co-occur intrasententially, at times even next to each other. Here, the functions are more varied. Synonyms can be employed as a means of **clarification** where a more difficult or foreign word is accompanied by a more comprehensible one. This habit of clarification by synonym can be traced back to the Middle Ages where 'it was customary to explain a French word by adding to it a native synonym' (Ullmann, 1962: 153) as in '*cherite* that is *luve*'. Cruse (1986: 267) notes that when a synonym is used as a means of explanation or clarification of another word, the two words are often linked by an expression that signals their relationship such as *that is to say* or a particular variety of *or* as in the sentence 'He was cashiered, that is to say, dismissed'.

A subtype of clarification is **self-correction** where a speaker, after having produced a word which captures his intent imperfectly, decides to use a better word. Cruse (1986: 267) points out that such contrastive use of synonyms is signaled by 'nuance signallers', i.e. expressions such as *more exactly* and *or rather* as in 'He was murdered, or rather executed. Cruse uses the expressions *more exactly* and *not exactly* as discriminatory heuristics for identifying plesionyms. Here, then, we see not only a type of framework in which synonyms co-occur, but also an indication as to what type of synonyms to expect. It is interesting to note that the inherent semantic closeness of synonyms is flouted in the case of self-correction and that the effect produced is one of contrast rather than similarity.

Another function that co-occurring synonyms may perform is to provide 'an outlet for strong emotions' (Ullmann, 1962: 153) as in Hamlet's first soliloquy where he coordinates a group of verbs for dramatic effect (*melt*, *thaw* and *resolve itself into a dew*). This function could be labelled

**emphatic.** Given the literary flavour of Ullmann's example, it would be interesting to see whether this function is also present in other text types and registers.

A slightly less intense coupling of near-synonyms, which is nevertheless emphatic in its effect, is also the basis of a number of irreversible binomials. Malkiel (1959: 126-127) identified near-synonymy as one of the underlying semantic relations that bind the two members of irreversible binomials and proposed the following English examples:

*beck and call, checks and balances, death and destruction, each and every, fair and square, fears and anxieties, first and foremost, graft and corruption, hard-and-fast (rules), heart and soul, (with) intent and deliberation, (defiance of) law and order, (by) leaps and bounds, nip and tuck, null and void, soft and easy, ways and means (- and traditions)*

Malkiel (1959: 126) maintains that the use of an irreversible binomial whose members are united by their near-synonymy 'adds color and emphasis to the bare statement'. It is, then, a matter of stylistic embellishment. Elsewhere, such a pattern may fulfil an explanatory function by glossing a word of foreign origin with a more familiar term.

### **2.3.2 Co-occurring synonyms – where to find them**

It appears that co-occurring synonyms are distributed unevenly across the English language and that there are styles where synonym pairs/sets are more at home. One such example is legal language which abounds with tautological pairs such as 'goods and chattels' or 'last will and testament'. (Ullmann, 1962: 154)

The extent to which co-occurring synonyms pervade English has not been studied extensively. Stubbs (1998: 405), however, detected 'a tendency for words to co-occur with approximate synonyms' adducing the following co-occurrence figures<sup>8</sup>:

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<sup>8</sup> The first number following a word (node) is its absolute frequency. The words in the angle brackets are its most frequent collocates within a span of 4:4. The percentage is the frequency of individual collocates or sets of collocates as a percentage of the node.

Anarchy 1,057 <chaos 4%>

Anxiety 4,961 <depression 5%, fear, stress, tension> 12%

In *Words and Phrases* (2001: 105), Stubbs adds the following pairs:

Chapel 2,439 <church 3%>

Migraine 808 <headache(s) 16%>

Towns 6,882 <cities 9%>

Utterly 2,689 <completely 2%>

He admits that ‘perhaps co-occurrence of synonyms is not to be expected within a small span of 4:4, but the textual reasons are still open to study’ (Stubbs, 2001: 104).

### **2.3.3 Formal patterns of co-occurring synonyms**

In addition to the scattered observations on synonym co-occurrence in standard treatments of the subject, Petra Storjohann’s study (2010) is the only one which deals with the syntagmatic dimension of synonyms and whose goals partly overlap with those of the present thesis. Her study has a twofold aim: to demonstrate the relevance of studying synonymy within a cognitive framework and to show that synonyms do co-occur ‘in close proximity and recur in combinational patterns and in typical phrasal structures’ (Storjohann, 2010: 85). It is the latter aim that is of special importance to the present thesis.

Storjohann examines German synonyms in a corpus of journalistic texts, but her findings are readily applicable to English. She identified three ‘typical construction patterns’ (Storjohann, 2010: 85): coordinated synonymy, synonym clusters and subordinated synonymy.

As the name suggests, coordinated synonymy features two synonyms joined by a coordinating conjunction. For German, Storjohann proposes the following templates: *X und Y*, *X oder Y*, *X beziehungsweise Y* where the conjunctions correspond to English *and*, *or* and *as well as*, respectively. The function of pairing synonyms in a coordinating structure is to ‘signal semantic inclusiveness and exhaustiveness’ (Storjohann, 2010: 87). If a pair of synonyms occurs together so frequently as to

become conventionalized, Storjohann (2010: 88) says the synonyms may 'become more alike as each contaminates the other's semantic interpretation'. Interestingly, Storjohann observes that most pairs that she studied were 'remarkably reversible' (ibid.) but she admits that this point needs to be verified by an investigation of a quantitative kind.

Synonym clusters are essentially an extension of coordinated synonymy where instead of pairing two items, at least three synonyms are strung together, typically asyndetically. Such enumeration allows speakers 'to express a specific concept exhaustively by employing variation of expression [so that] any existing expressive or stylistic shades as well as differing denotative properties are concisely subsumed' (Storjohann, 2010: 88). Storjohann remarks that synonym clustering is especially productive with near-synonyms.

Finally, subordinated synonymy consists in employing a subordinating structure in order to present an explanation, clarification or a definitional paraphrase. For German, Storjohann (2010: 89) identified the following patterns: *X, das heißt Y* (X, which means Y); *X, sprich Y* (X, meaning Y); *X, also Y* (X, which is Y). She further notes that in such patterns the second element (Y) is often an everyday word that makes the meaning of the first element, a more specialized word, clear.

A potential drawback of Storjohann's study is that she does not provide any quantitative data at all. This, however, can be easily explained by her overall intent which was to argue that the synonyms she analysed 'operate on a conceptual level, where speakers construe meaning equivalence in language use by relying on shared linguistic as well as non-linguistic knowledge, and by applying cognitive principles' (Storjohann, 2010: 92). Her classification of the syntagmatic co-occurrence patterns as well as her observations on their features, such as the (ir)reversibility of coordinated synonyms, therefore, need to be investigated quantitatively using a larger sample.

## **2.4 Steven Jones: *Antonymy* (2002)**

The initial impetus for studying synonym co-occurrence came from Michael Hoey, who, in his foreword to Steven Jones's study of antonymy, wonders whether exploring synonymous collocations

could yield results comparable to Jones's observations on the functioning of pairs of antonyms. Since Jones's study was a major influence for the methodology employed in the present thesis, a short summary of his novel approach follows.

Unlike traditional treatments of the topic, which were concerned mainly with how antonyms fit in the language system, Jones decided to explore the way in which antonyms operate in actual language, i.e. language use. Accordingly, Jones's attention shifts from identifying fine differences between particular types of 'opposites' to a concentration on how oppositeness is articulated in texts, or, more precisely, sentences. This shift can be understood as a change of perspective from paradigmatic to syntagmatic.

Jones, thus, approaches antonymy afresh by selecting fifty-six antonymous pairs and studying their co-occurrence patterns in a corpus of journalistic writing. He then proposes a new typology based not only on the structural frameworks in which antonymous pairs operate (such as *X as well as Y* where X and Y stand for two antonyms) but also on the function they perform intrasententially.

The first major category Jones proposes based on his data is Ancillary Antonymy. This type features a pair of antonyms which are used 'to signal a more important contrast between a pair of words (often co-hyponyms) which have less inherent dissimilarity' (Jones, 2002: 60). For instance, it could be argued that in a sentence such as 'I love to cook but I hate doing the dishes', the familiar antonyms love and hate help co-create a more crucial contrast between cooking and doing the dishes.

The other major category is Coordinated Antonymy. Structurally, this type is characterized by operating within a coordinative framework such as *X and Y*, *X or Y* etc. The main function of coordinated antonyms is to signal 'inclusiveness or exhaustiveness of scale' (Jones, 2002: 74) which means that the inherent contrast between the two antonyms is largely neutralized and it is their latent similarity that is exploited. In a sentence 'He took success and failure in his stride', the contrast is backgrounded and the sentence could be paraphrased by 'He took everything in his stride' (Jones, 2002: 65).

Jones further identifies a number of other minor categories, but the methodology remains the same: he looks at the frameworks in which pairs of antonyms co-occur and also attempts to pinpoint the function such a coupling of antonyms performs in each case. The implications for studying other lexical relations are clear: identification of typical patterns of co-occurrence benefits from being complemented by an appreciation of the function such co-occurrence performs.

In addition to proposing a new typology of antonyms, Jones also considers the 'endemicity of antonymy' using various statistical measures and, crucially, the sequence rules that guide the order in which antonyms co-occur in texts. While Cruse contends that antonym pairs 'should not be regarded as irreversible binomials' (Jones, 2002: 136), he shows that most of the antonyms studied do prefer one sequence of order over the other. It may well be the case that co-occurring synonyms will also show preference for particular sequences.

Jones also explores whether word class and gradability have some bearing on the co-occurrence patterns and function of antonyms in text. The results of his analysis suggest that this is not the case. If the relatively well-defined categories into which antonyms are traditionally grouped do not display any significant effect on their co-occurrence patterns and function, we could expect the relatively less well-defined categories of synonymy to do the same.

Finally, Jones (2002: 154) shows how the co-occurrence patterns identified in the first part of his monograph can be exploited to retrieve antonyms automatically as well as to identify 'embryonic antonyms: pairs of words which [...] might be developing into the 'opposites' of tomorrow'. The procedure is simple: he takes a framework such as *both X and Y*, places a word in its X-position and searches the corpus with a view to discovering the 'expected' antonym (e.g. *bad* if the seed word in X-position was *good*) as well as some others (like *poor* and *lousy*) that might not be as canonical but are nevertheless functional opposites and of potential interest to lexicographers. His analysis of a handful of frameworks suggests that such an approach is fruitful but he acknowledges that this area



requires further research. Whether frameworks that would be productive in this sense exist for synonymy remains to be seen.

Jones's novel approach to studying antonymy thus opens up a new way of exploring other paradigmatic relations from a syntagmatic point of view. Whether equally interesting observations could be made about synonyms is one of the questions this thesis aims to answer. Recent research, however, is rather skeptical suggesting that antonymy is unique in this sense and that 'antonyms not only co-occur significantly more often in the same sentence than chance predicts, but also significantly more often than other semantically related word pairs such as synonyms and hyponyms' (Jones et. al, 2012: 26). In the same vein, Murphy (2006: 33) stressed the distinctness of antonymy observing that 'there is less evidence that such relations [hyponymy and synonymy] also display the syntagmatic properties that have been found for antonymy'.

### **3 Research project**

#### **3.1 Aims**

The principal aim of the present thesis is to identify patterns of intrasentential synonym co-occurrence and to attempt to explain such co-occurrence with reference to the possible functions it may serve in discourse.

Apart from several studies by Storjohann (2006; 2009; 2010) dealing with co-occurring synonyms in German, synonym co-occurrence has not been studied widely. Authors exploring other sense relations from a syntagmatic point of view have repeatedly voiced their scepticism as to the fruitfulness of such an endeavour (Murphy, 2006; Jones et al., 2012). Still, their methodology, particularly that of Jones (2002) in his *Antonymy: A corpus-based perspective*, is readily transferable to the study of synonym co-occurrence and has consequently been a major influence not only on the formulation of the research questions presented below but also on the study as such.

#### **3.2 Research questions**

The following research questions, all of which have been formulated with reference to previous research on the subject, form the backbone of the present thesis:

RQ#1 Does synonymy display patterns of co-occurrence analogous to those identified by Jones (2002) for antonymy?

RQ#2 To what extent do co-occurring synonyms tend to cluster together in a sentence rather than spread out in text?

RQ#3 When two synonyms co-occur in the same sentence, how likely is it that they will be explicitly contrasted?

The first research question draws mainly from Jones's (2002) classification of new types of antonymy and, as such, it implies a number of further subquestions about the similarities and differences in co-occurrence patterns between synonyms and antonyms. Question two was inspired by Stubbs' (2001:

104) remark about the possible relation between the distance separating two synonyms and the frequency of such co-occurrence. Finally, the last research question was formulated in an attempt to compare Storjohann's (2009) findings about the high proportion of near-synonyms functioning contrastively in her research to synonyms in general.

These research questions are only a broad point of departure for the study of synonym co-occurrence and will, therefore, be expanded in the course of this thesis in order to account fully for the examined data.

### **3.3 Methodology**

#### **3.3.1 Methodological disclaimer**

To study synonym co-occurrence necessarily means to restrict one's scope of analysis to a manageable subset of synonyms. The absence of a generally accepted definition of synonymy, the sheer number of synonyms existing in a language and the fact that synonyms do not come in pairs (as antonyms do) but in more or less clearly delimited sets are just some of the facts that hamper any attempt at a thorough and exhaustive description of synonym co-occurrence. In addition, there is a potentially large number of contextual synonyms<sup>9</sup>, i.e. such words that only emerge *qua synonyms* thanks to occurring in opportune contexts, which this thesis cannot but overlook due to methodological constraints, namely the impossibility of their automatic retrieval using corpus methods.

The focus on a subset of synonyms also means that any generalizations to be made below are, strictly speaking, only applicable to the analysed synonym pairs/sets. Caution in extrapolating from a limited subset is appropriate because of the existence of several axes of difference along which synonyms may differ in terms of their meaning as well as their grammatical properties. It can be expected that both grammatical and semantic idiosyncrasies of individual members of synonym pairs may have a bearing on their combinatory possibilities and, hence, patterns of synonym co-occurrence.

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Murphy's (2003: 168) claim that 'any pair of words [can be] synonymous'.

### 3.3.2 Status of co-occurring synonyms

There seems to be an inherent contradiction in attempting to study synonym co-occurrence in the sense that most tests that are conventionally used to identify synonyms work with the notion of paradigmatic substitutability (and not with syntagmatic concatenation). As noted in the theoretical part, a good candidate for a synonym is often understood to be such a word that does not alter the meaning<sup>10</sup> of a sentence if it is used as a replacement for another word in the same position. Such a test could also be used for co-occurring synonyms, or rather, candidates of synonymy, but this would lead to an undesirable reduction in the scope of analysis. The adjectives *loving* and *fond*, for instance, could not be switched in [1] and they would therefore not pass the test in this sentence due to their distinct grammatical patterns. On the contrary, they could arguably pass for good synonyms in [2].

[1] Despite being a **loving** child, **fond** of his parents' and teacher's attention, he had serious temper tantrums at both home and school.

[2] [...] he packed his bags for good, waved his **loving** sisters a **fond** farewell, and set off for London, fame and fortune.

I have decided not to use the substitute test in selecting the sentences for analysis for two reasons: first, in order to take co-occurrences of type [1] into account and, second, to ensure replicability of the research, which would be very difficult to maintain had the data selection required subjective judgements on the possibility of substituting one word for another without a change in the resulting meaning (no matter how that meaning would be defined).

Synonyms as understood in this thesis, thus, are not necessarily words which could replace each other without significantly altering the meaning of the sentence in which they co-occur. Such a replacement is sometimes possible, particularly in cases where the two words in question are coordinated, but it was not a criterion for the selection of data. Instead, 'synonymity' of the words

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<sup>10</sup> What type of meaning has to remain unchanged for two words to be considered as synonyms differs from one theory to the next.

that are treated as synonyms in this thesis resides purely in their common semantic core. What the nature of this core is and how it was operationalized is dealt with in the following section.

### 3.3.3 Selection of synonyms

There are no universally agreed sets of synonyms that could be readily consulted and used for further research. Practically every dictionary of synonyms comes with its own conception of synonymy that is then reflected in the choice of words that are included in the entries. These can range from relatively restricted sets of closely related words to rather free collections of words which are sometimes only tangentially associated. The reason for the variety lies not only in the lack of a common understanding of synonymy, but also in different aims: while some dictionaries of synonyms attempt to provide their readers with clear guidance on when to use which synonym, other dictionaries of synonyms, often called thesauri<sup>11</sup>, attempt to give as many potential synonyms as possible with a view to helping speakers recall a word that they already know but which is for some reason momentarily unavailable to them.

Just how much variance there is in the treatment of the same headword in various dictionaries of synonyms is illustrated in Table 1 using the example of *brave*. The sets of synonyms therein were taken from five dictionaries of synonyms spanning over a century. Perhaps the most striking difference lies in the number of words suggested as synonyms of *brave* in the individual dictionaries, which ranges from the modest five given in *Oxford Learner's Thesaurus*<sup>12</sup> to forty items stated in *The Synonym Finder*. Such a disproportion is easily explained by reference to the above-mentioned difference in aims, but there exist differences even among dictionaries that have the same goal of helping readers discriminate closely related words. For instance, *Chambers Adult Learners' Thesaurus*, unlike the others, also includes multi word expressions (e.g. *brave as a lion*) in its entries.

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<sup>11</sup> The word *thesaurus* has undergone several changes in its meaning and use. See, for instance, the appropriate heading in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (Brown: 2005) for a detailed treatment of the topic.

<sup>12</sup> *Oxford Learner's Thesaurus*, however, is aimed primarily at advanced learners of English, not at native speakers. It is for this reason that it offers relatively few synonyms.

Synonyms of <i>brave</i>	<b>English Synonyms and Antonyms (1896):</b> <i>adventurous, bold, chivalric, chivalrous, courageous, daring, dauntless, doughty, fearless, gallant, heroic, intrepid, undaunted, undismayed, valiant, venturesome</i>
	<b>The Synonym Finder (1978):</b> <i>courageous, valiant, valorous, heroic, heroical, hero-like, stout-hearted, lionhearted, ironhearted, great-hearted; virile, manly, manful, gallant, chivalrous, chivalric; intrepid, fearless, dauntless, dreadless, aweless, nervy, gutsy, unafraid, unblenching, unblenched, undaunted, unalarmed, undismayed, unappalled; bold, bold-spirited, high-spirited, daring, dashing, adventurous, audacious, reckless, rash, foolhardy</i>
	<b>Merriam Webster's New Dictionary of Synonyms (1984):</b> <i>courageous, unafraid, fearless, intrepid, valiant, valorous, dauntless, undaunted, doughty, bold, audacious</i>
	<b>Chambers Adult Learners' Thesaurus (2006):</b> <i>bold, brave as a lion, courageous, daring, fearless, unafraid, intrepid, valiant</i>
	<b>Oxford Learner's Thesaurus (2008):</b> <i>courageous, heroic, gallant, fearless, gutsy</i>

Table 1: Synonyms of *brave* in five dictionaries of synonyms

A brief look at the table reveals an important overlap: all the dictionaries include the words *courageous* and *fearless* as synonyms of *brave*. In order to capture the other overlapping regions in a clear way, I plotted all the words on a five-set Venn diagram. It is interesting to observe that even such an extensive synonym set as that in *The Synonym Finder* failed to include words like *doughty* or *venturesome*.



does not contain any outliers, i.e. words not shared by any of the remaining sets. In addition, *Webster* is particularly valuable and useful for the purposes of this thesis because being a dictionary of discriminated synonyms it always specifies both the common core that all the members of a particular synonym set share and the individual differences that make them stand apart.

For instance, the synonym set for the headword *faithful* includes the words *loyal*, *true*, *constant*, *staunch*, *steadfast* and *resolute*. The common semantic core uniting all these words is ‘firm in adherence to the person, the country, or the cause to whom or to which one is bound by duty or promise’<sup>13</sup>. Each member of a synonym set is then characterized in terms of what differentiates it from the other members. *True*, for example, is specified as ‘somewhat stronger than *loyal* and *faithful* in stressing a personal or emotional quality as well as steadiness in one’s allegiance, devotion, or fidelity’.

The principles guiding the selection of synonyms in *Webster* are specified in its introduction, where a synonym is defined as ‘one or two or more words in the English language which have the same or very nearly the same *essential* meaning [emphasis in the original]’ (24a). Later, the authors insist on ‘a likeness in denotation’ (ibid.) which they understand as ‘the meaning or signification of a term as expressed in its definition’ (ibid.). In effect, synonyms in *Webster* are taken to be ‘only such words as may be defined wholly, or almost wholly, in the same terms’ (25a).

### 3.3.4 Choosing synonym sets for study

In order to obtain a relatively homogenous group of synonyms, I decided to focus on adjectives that are typically used to talk about personality traits and human behaviour. Accordingly, I chose to examine the following seventeen headwords in *Webster* and their respective sets of synonyms: *awkward*, *brave*, *careless*, *civil*, *confident*, *contemptible*, *covetous*, *dishonest*, *faithful*, *fierce*, *humble*, *ignorant*, *loving*, *obstinate*, *shy*, *suave* and *wise*.

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<sup>13</sup> Unless specified otherwise, all the definitions of words come from *Webster*. Further references to a ‘common semantic core’ as well as distinguishing traits are also taken from the relevant headwords in *Webster*.



Each synonym set was then tabulated in a way that accounted for all the possible combinations of synonyms within the same set. In the next step, I searched the British National Corpus<sup>14</sup> for all their co-occurrences in the same sentence using the interface provided by the University of Lancaster<sup>15</sup>. The following table, which gives the raw frequencies of co-occurrences of synonym pairs from the synonym set of the headword *brave*, may help illustrate the procedure:

	brave	courageous	unafraid	fearless	intrepid	valiant	valorous	dauntless	undaunted	doughty	bold	audacious
brave	x	6	0	1(2)	0	0(1)	0	0	0	0	5	1
courageous		x	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0
unafraid			x	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
fearless				x	1(2)	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
intrepid					x	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
valiant						x	0	0	0	0	1	0
valorous							x	0	0	0	0	0
dauntless								x	0	0	0	0
undaunted									x	0	0	0
doughty										x	0	0
bold											x	0
audacious												x
TOTAL	12 unique pairs										24 co-occurrences	

Table 2: Combinations of synonyms from the *brave* set as attested in the BNC

Table 2 shows all the possible combinations of synonyms in the *brave* set along with the raw frequency with which they co-occurred in the same sentence in the BNC. The adjectives *fearless* and *dauntless*, for instance, co-occurred twice in the BNC while *valiant* and *bold* were to be found in the same sentence only once.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps the most striking finding evident from Table 2 is the fact that the majority of possible synonym pairs in this set did not co-occur in the same sentence in the BNC at all. Out of sixty six unique synonym combinations of members of the *brave* set only twelve were attested in the corpus. This tendency was also observed in the case of the remaining sixteen synonym sets studied in the present thesis.

The low number of unique synonym pairs whose members co-occur in the same sentence could be a function of the relatively low frequency of some of the words in the set. Table 2 makes it clear that it

<sup>14</sup> Since *Webster* is an American dictionary, I searched the corpus for variant British spellings whenever relevant.

<sup>15</sup> Accessible at <http://bncweb.lancs.ac.uk/>.

<sup>16</sup> The numbers in brackets show the total number of co-occurrences before pruning (see 3.3.5).

is the more frequent words such as *brave*, *courageous*, *fearless* and *bold* that tend to co-occur with their respective synonyms (i.e. also with each other) rather than low frequency words such as *doughty* or *valorous*<sup>17</sup>. It could be speculated, therefore, that a larger corpus would reveal a higher number of unique co-occurring synonym pairs. Still, even the attested pairs only co-occur in a handful of cases and the evidence indicates that synonym co-occurrence is a statistically minor phenomenon. What needs to be established then is the circumstances in which synonyms co-occur rather than the statistical significance of such co-occurrence. That is the objective of this study and it will be explored in the following sections.

### 3.3.5 Pruning

Not all the sentences retrieved in the previous step did in fact constitute examples of synonym co-occurrence. The lack of synonymy holding between two words that, taken out of context, would easily pass for synonyms is often due to polysemy of one or both members of a synonym pair. In example [3], the adjectives *constant* and *true* are not instances of synonym co-occurrence because *constant* is used in the sense of ‘continuous or regular over a long period of time’ rather than ‘loyal to a person or a belief’. The function of *true* and *constant* in the sentence as a disjunct and a premodifier respectively also contributes to their different readings:

[3] **True**, there is a **constant** whine about the quality of public services, but that is common to all affluent nations.

Consequently, sentences where no relation of synonymy could be discerned due to polysemy and other factors were excluded from the analysis.

In addition, sentences where part-of-speech tags for the examined words were incorrectly assigned were also not included in the analysis. In [4], *Constant* is a proper noun rather than an adjective.

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<sup>17</sup> The most frequent adjective from this set is *brave* with a relative frequency of 17.38 instances per million words calculated on the basis of BNC. *Bold* comes second with 14.06 occurrences per million words and is followed by *courageous* with 3.72 instances per million words. *Doughty* and *valorous*, on the other hand, only display a frequency of 0.34 and 0.05 occurrences per million words respectively.

[4] Some women, like **Constant** du Hamel's wife, are splendidly **loyal** to their husbands; more are **loyal** to their lovers — and are, indeed, their saviours.

Finally, special uses of examined words such as the nominal use of adjectives (syntactic conversion) were not included either.

[5] It's not the kind who inherit the earth, it's the poor, the **humble**, and the **meek**. "

Altogether fifty-five sentences were pruned for the above reasons reducing the total number of analysed sentences from two hundred and eighty-five to two hundred and thirty.

### 3.3.6 Synonym pairs selected for analysis and attested in the BNC

After the pruning, the remaining two hundred and thirty sentences contained eighty-one unique synonym pairs. These are presented in Table 3 along with the raw frequencies of their intrasentential co-occurrence attested in the BNC. The generally low frequencies of co-occurrence, only twice expressed in decimal numbers, once again seem to suggest that synonym co-occurrence is a relatively rare phenomenon.

Each synonym set in Table 3 is introduced by its headword as specified in *Webster*. The individual synonym pairs do not always feature the headword: in the *faithful* set, for instance, one of the synonym pairs is *staunch – resolute*. This is the case because all the words in a given set share the same semantic core and are, or at least can be, synonyms of each other. Consequently, all the possible combinations of members of synonym set were searched for and those that did co-occur in the BNC are presented in Table 3.

AWKWARD		CONFIDENT		FIERCE		OBSTINATE	
<i>awkward – clumsy</i>	7	<i>confident – sure</i>	31	<i>cruel – inhuman</i>	17	<i>stubborn – obstinate</i>	2
<i>awkward – inept</i>	1	CONTEMPTIBLE		<i>cruel – fierce</i>	4	<i>stubborn – pigheaded</i>	1
<i>awkward – gauche</i>	2	<i>contemptible – shabby</i>		<i>cruel – savage</i>	4	<i>stubborn – stiff-necked</i>	1
<i>clumsy – inept</i>	1			<i>fierce – truculent</i>	1	<i>dogged – bullheaded</i>	1
BRAVE		<i>cheap – shabby</i>	6	<i>fierce – barbarous</i>	1	SHY	
<i>brave – courageous</i>	6	COVETOUS		<i>fierce – savage</i>	1	<i>shy – bashful</i>	2
<i>brave – fearless</i>	1	<i>covetous – grasping</i>	1	<i>truculent – savage</i>	1	<i>shy – diffident</i>	6
<i>brave – bold</i>	5	<i>greedy – grasping</i>	1	<i>ferocious – savage</i>	1	<i>shy – modest</i>	6
<i>brave – audacious</i>	1	<i>acquisitive – grasping</i>	1	<i>barbarous – savage</i>	2	<i>bashful – coy</i>	1
<i>courageous – fearless</i>	2	DISHONEST		HUMBLE		SUAVE	
<i>courageous – valiant</i>	1	<i>dishonest – deceitful</i>		<i>humble – modest</i>	5	<i>suave – urbane</i>	1
<i>courageous – dauntless</i>	1			<i>humble – lowly</i>	2	<i>suave – bland</i>	1
<i>courageous – bold</i>	2			<i>modest – lowly</i>	2	<i>suave – smooth</i>	2
<i>fearless – intrepid</i>	1	<i>deceitful – mendacious</i>	1	IGNORANT		<i>urbane – smooth</i>	2
<i>fearless – dauntless</i>	2	<i>deceitful – untruthful</i>	2	<i>ignorant – illiterate</i>	4	<i>diplomatic – smooth</i>	2
<i>fearless – undaunted</i>	1	FAITHFUL		<i>ignorant – uneducated</i>	3	<i>bland – smooth</i>	5
<i>valiant – bold</i>	1	<i>faithful – loyal</i>	6	<i>illiterate – uneducated</i>	3	WISE	
CARELESS		<i>faithful – true</i>	3	LOVING		<i>wise – prudent</i>	4
<i>careless – heedless</i>	1	<i>loyal – true</i>	3	<i>loving – affectionate</i>	4	<i>wise – sensible</i>	8
<i>careless – thoughtless</i>	1	<i>loyal – constant</i>	1	<i>loving – devoted</i>	2	<i>wise – sane</i>	1
<i>heedless – thoughtless</i>	1	<i>loyal – staunch</i>	2	<i>loving – fond</i>	3	<i>judicious – prudent</i>	1
CIVIL		<i>loyal – resolute</i>	1	<i>affectionate – devoted</i>	1	<i>judicious – sensible</i>	1
<i>polite – courteous</i>	3	<i>true – constant</i>	2	<i>affectionate – fond</i>	1	<i>prudent – sensible</i>	5
<i>courteous – gallant</i>	1	<i>staunch – resolute</i>	1	<i>devoted – fond</i>	1	<i>sensible – sane</i>	6
<i>courteous – chivalrous</i>	1						

Table 3: Synonym pairs selected for analysis with the raw frequencies of their intrasentential co-occurrence in the BNC

## 4 Data analysis

The analysis proper proceeds from a brief look at the distance separating members of synonym pairs to a consideration of syntagmatic realizations of synonymy and, ultimately, to an attempt at synthesizing the findings and explaining intrasentential synonym co-occurrence in terms of the functions it may perform in actual discourse.

### 4.1 Distance separating members of synonym pairs

Table 4 shows the distribution of the examined pairs according to the distance between them. The left column gives the number of intervening words, the central column specifies how many synonym pairs co-occurred with a given distance and the right column presents the percentage of pairs with a given distance. About 70% of the adjectival synonym pairs examined in the present thesis were located close to each other with a maximum of three orthographic words<sup>18</sup> in between. The remaining 30% were evenly distributed with very low frequencies ranging from 0-3% for each distance.

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<sup>18</sup> For the purposes of calculating the distance between two synonyms, short forms such as *wasn't* were counted as one word.

$X_{\text{ADJ}} \leftrightarrow Y_{\text{ADJ}}$	$\Sigma$	%
0	48	20.9%
1	84	36.5%
2	22	9.6%
3	14	6.1%
4	8	3.5%
5	3	1.3%
6	7	3.0%
7	5	2.2%
8	2	0.9%
9	1	0.4%
10	3	1.3%
11	3	1.3%
12	0	0%
13	3	1.3%
14	4	1.7%
15	4	1.7%
16	1	0.4%
17	3	1.3%
18	4	1.7%
19	1	0.4%
20	3	1.3%
21+	7	3.0%
<b>Total</b>	230	100%

Table 4: Distance separating members of synonym pairs

Most frequently (in 36.5% of cases), the members of adjectival synonym pairs were separated by one word, which was typically a conjunction linking the two adjectives such as *and*, *or* or *but*. In more than 20% of cases, the individual synonyms were joined asyndetically either with or without a comma. The following examples illustrate the six most frequent distances separating members of synonym pairs.

[6] Erm, I think that we have a very **sane**, **sensible** budget proposed here, and I trust that every sensible councillor will support it. [no intervening words]

[7] It may be **wise** and **sensible** advice given certain circumstances. [one intervening word]

[8] As a prime minister he probably ranked with Ramsay MacDonald in **humble** origin and **modest** wealth. [two intervening words]

[9] How **brave** of her, how **bold** of her, was she perhaps even now reciting to Roy the interesting medical and legal details of her case? [three intervening words]

[10] Although Barber found himself in the political wilderness with the Tories' fall from power after the death of Queen Anne in 1715, he remained **loyal** to his friends and **true** to his Tory principles. [four intervening words]

[11] Described by his colleagues as a **humble** superstar, Okoye earns a relatively **modest** \$215,000 (£145,000) a year. [five intervening words]

Commenting on the relatively low co-occurrence of synonyms in corpora, Stubbs (2001: 104) voiced a suspicion that 'perhaps co-occurrence of synonyms is not to be expected within a small span of 4:4'. The findings summarized in Table 4 suggest, however, that the span of 4 words to the left and to the right *does* in fact cover the majority of adjectival synonyms co-occurring in the same sentence and that their number does not increase proportionally to the increased span.<sup>19</sup>

The data suggest that individual synonym pairs may differ in the likelihood with which they co-occur close to each other. In contrast to the general trend, some pairs of synonyms seem to prefer what may be called 'distant configurations'. This is the case of *confident* and *sure*, which is by far the most frequent pair in the analysis with thirty-one co-occurrences. On average, *confident* and *sure* were separated from each other by 11.74 orthographic words. Thus, the more typical patterns of co-occurrence for this pair are illustrated by [12] and [13] rather than [14].

[12] Even if you are **confident** that your present arrangements are adequate can you be **sure** that nothing has been overlooked? [9 intervening words]

[13] Pottz was **confident** of taking the world title, but less **sure** about the Triple Crown. [7 intervening words]

[14] She felt **sure** and **confident** that they were true. [1 intervening word]

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<sup>19</sup> Whether this holds also for intersentential co-occurrence of synonyms is an interesting question that is, however, outside the scope of this thesis.

It remains to be established whether the general preference for ‘close configurations’ of adjectival synonym pairs is also observable in other parts of speech. The distance separating synonyms occurring in the same sentence, however, is but a reflection of underlying syntactic patterns and functional motivations that govern co-occurrence of synonyms.

## 4.2 New types of synonymy?

This section takes Jones’s classification of syntagmatic realizations of antonymy put forward in his *Antonymy: A corpus-based perspective* (2002) as a point of departure and a framework of reference for the attempt to identify analogous patterns for synonyms co-occurring in the same sentence. Jones (2002) identifies eight syntagmatic realizations of antonymy. These are reproduced in Table 5 which gives his functions of antonymy in his database sample and their names along with prototypical example sentences illustrating the co-occurrence patterns. The first two major patterns were already described in 2.4 while the remaining will be briefly dealt with in due course.

<i>Suggested name</i>
Ancillary Antonymy (An) <i>(stamps are popular, but collecting is unpopular)</i>
Coordinated Antonymy (Co) <i>(policy is to recruit skilled and unskilled workers)</i>
Comparative Antonymy (Cm) <i>(those who succeed more than they fail)</i>
Distinguished Antonymy (Ds) <i>(the gap between rich and poor has widened)</i>
Transitional Antonymy (Tr) <i>(how easy to slip from the legal to the illegal trade)</i>
Negated Antonymy (Ng) <i>(to facilitate the re-establishment of peace, not war)</i>
Extreme Antonymy (Ex) <i>(except when the soil is too wet or too dry)</i>
Idiomatic Antonymy (Id) <i>(it was not permissible to blow hot and cold)</i>
Others

Table 5: New types of antonymy identified by Jones (2002)



#### 4.2.1 In search of ancillary synonymy

As observed in 2.4, ancillary antonymy is concerned with signalling a more important opposition between another pair of words or phrases using a pair of well-established opposites. In [15], the use of antonymous pair *popular* and *unpopular* is a means of signalling the contrast between *stamps* and *collecting* that could go unnoticed in other contexts. It can be argued that, here, the morphologically related pair of opposites helps strengthen the perception of contrast between the object (*stamps*) and the activity (*collecting* [stamps]).

[15] *Stamps* are **popular**, but *collecting* is **unpopular**.

Ancillary antonymy is the most frequent syntagmatic realization of antonymy identified by Jones (2002: 41) as it accounts for 38.7% of the sentences containing co-occurring antonyms in his study. Does synonymy, then, display an analogous pattern? Is there anything like ancillary synonymy? What ancillary antonymy does is awaken a dormant opposition that is not immediately perceivable unless it is activated by co-occurrence of a well-established antonym pair. Analogically, one could expect synonym pairs to help establish or strengthen a perception of similarity between another pair of words or phrases given Murphy's (2003: 168) claim that 'any pair of words [can be] synonymous'.

The closest analogues to ancillary antonymy seem to be examples like the following:

[16] Hence also the exaggerated tribalism, the **bullheaded** racism of an Alf Garnett, the **dogged** male chauvinism of an Andy Capp.

[17] Your **lowly** beast, your **humble** mule.

[18] McAllister, clad in her **shabby** bottle-green dress enlivened at the throat by a bit of **cheap** lace, [...] resignedly straightened up, to meet the gaze of Havvie and his friends.

In [16], there is a discernible relationship between *racism* and *chauvinism* in the sense that they both denote a belief that one group of people is better than others, their difference only consisting in how

they construe the boundaries of this group. In fact, these words could be regarded as cohyponyms of *prejudice*. Syntactically, they are modified by synonymous expressions *bullheaded* and *dogged*, but it is not the presence of these two adjectives that establishes the perception of similarity between *racism* and *chauvinism*. Rather than that, the adjectives *bullheaded* and *dogged* seem to be used in order to express the same or very similar meaning of ‘fixed or unyielding by temperament or nature’ with reference to two different people and avoid repeating the same word in doing so.

Sentences [17] and [18] contain instances of hyponymy and meronymy in addition to the two adjectival synonym pairs. In [17] the hyponym *mule* is modified by the adjective *humble* while the hyperonym *beast* is characterized as *lowly*. Similarly, [18] displays a relation of synonymy between *cheap* and *shabby* as well as a relation between a part (*lace*) and a whole (*dress*). Not even in these cases, however, does the presence of synonyms help establish or signal a more important similarity between another pair of words or expressions that would be analogous to ancillary antonymy. However, the use of synonyms stresses the co-referential use of the hyperonym-hyponym and holonym-meronym, and by the same token their substitutability in the given text.

What can be claimed, at best, is that the resulting noun phrases taken as wholes, for instance *lowly beast* and *humble mule*, become more alike in both having the same characteristic of ‘lacking all signs of pride, aggressiveness, or self-assertiveness either in spirit or in outward show’. The use of adjectival synonyms *lowly* and *humble*, however, does not confer any higher degree of similarity on their respective heads.

Thus, unlike antonyms, co-occurring synonyms do not seem to work as strong ancillaries in discourse. In other words, they are not used as a means of establishing or strengthening the perception of ‘commonness’ or similarity between another pair of words or phrases, perhaps only their co-referentiality.

#### 4.2.2 Coordinated synonymy

Synonym coordination has been observed for German synonyms (Storjohann, 2010) and the evidence suggests that coordinated synonymy presents one of the most prominent syntactic patterns characteristic of co-occurring synonyms in English. In fact, approximately 61% of all the examined sentences in this thesis featured coordinated synonyms. The most frequent means of connecting two synonyms was the conjunction *and* which accounted for 69 occurrences closely followed by asyndetic coordination, typically with a comma, that made up 60 sentences. Finally, 12 synonym pairs were joined by the conjunction *or*. Below are three typical sentences illustrating coordinated synonyms:

[19] In fact, if you are a **sane** and **sensible** Aquarian, you will leave matters well alone, both personally and at work, until after the Full Moon on the 14th.

[20] From being a painfully **shy**, **diffident** recluse, he suddenly metamorphosed into a garrulous and sometimes painfully overbearing extrovert.

[21] He wasn't **brave** or **courageous** — just totally unaware of fear in times of crisis.

Sentences [19] – [21] represent the most frequent templates of adjectival synonym co-ordination, i.e. two adjectives fulfilling the same syntactic function that are located close to each other and are conjoined either syndetically or asyntedically. Not always did the pairings of synonyms conform to the basic template, however, as the following instances of syntactically more complex structures show:

[22] The Queen, however, was notably warm towards Lee in her speeches, describing him as one of the Commonwealth's "sturdiest sheet anchors, **prudent** in counsel and **wise** in judgment" .

[23] Would not it be legally **wise** and politically **sensible** not to go ahead with the compulsory order to bring in bulldozers until difficulties with the European Commission and local people have been resolved?

[24] He was **sure**, strong, **confident** — and enraged.

In [22], the adjectives *prudent* and *wise* are complemented by a prepositional phrase that specifies in which respect they are to be understood. The same function is performed by the adverbs *legally* and *politically* that modify *wise* and *sensible* respectively in [23]. These examples show how adjectival synonyms may be of use in syntactically parallel structures.

In other cases, such as [24], the examined synonym pairs occurred in a longer list of words where they were not located immediately next to each other. Consequently, they did not conform to the basic pattern. Table 6 gives the overview of patterns of synonym co-ordination attested in the research sample and their raw frequencies.

TYPE OF LINK	PATTERN		NUMBER	TOTAL	
AND	X and Y		62	69	48.9%
	X ... and ... Y		7		
ASYNDETIC	COMMA +	X,Y	41	60	42.6%
		X,...,Y	12		
	COMMA -	XY	6		
		X...Y	1		
OR	X or Y		10	12	8.5%
	X, ... or Y		2		
TOTAL OF COORDINATED SYNONYMS				141	100.0%

Table 6: Patterns of synonym co-ordination

Table 6 makes it clear that the basic template (highlighted in the table) accounts for the majority of occurrences in each of the three major coordination patterns. Each of these patterns is analysed below with particular attention paid to the discourse function performed by the co-occurrence of synonyms in the individual sentences.

#### 4.2.2.1 The coordinated pattern *X and Y*

The most frequent syntactic pattern of synonym coordination in the research sample was a joining of two synonyms using the conjunction *and*.

[25]The sound is **fearless** and **intrepid**, and the whole album teems with stratospheric energy, just the right side of grandiose.

[26] 'I ask that henceforth, whatsoever the provocation and difficulties, you will remain **loyal** and **true** to the lady Anne — as to a sister.'

[27] 'He's only one voice and a pathetically **uneducated** and **ignorant** one.'

Such a pattern indicates 'semantic inclusiveness and exhaustiveness where slight semantic differences might be interpretable' (Storjohann, 2009: 2151). The syndetic construction in [25] is combinatory (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 953) in the sense that the adjectives *fearless* and *intrepid* act semantically in combination. Here, they function as complements of the same subject who is said to be characterized by both of them, their discernible differences included. Thus, the *sound* in this sentence could be seen as demonstrating a 'lack of fear<sup>20</sup>, or [...] undismayed resolution', presumably by the artist who was not afraid to venture into unknown musical spheres, but also 'daring in meeting danger or fortitude in enduring it', which are the two semantic differences identified as characteristic of *fearless* and *intrepid* respectively in *Webster*.

The relationship between adjectival synonyms joined using *and* might be understood as a union of two sets in which each set corresponds to all the semantic, stylistic and pragmatic characteristics of the respective synonyms as used in a given context. Figure 1 is a schematic representation, necessarily simplified<sup>21</sup>, of the *X and Y* pattern of synonym co-occurrence.

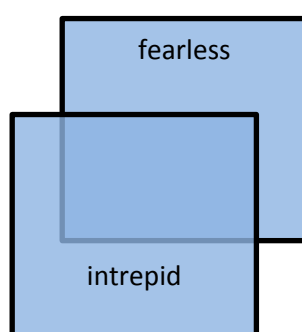


Figure 1: *X and Y* pattern schematically represented

<sup>20</sup> The lack of fear and the courage implied in this sentence are metaphorical.

<sup>21</sup> It is not claimed here that the size of the overlapping region in the figure corresponds to the 'semantic overlap', i.e. the degree to which two words are the same. Similarly, no analogous claim is being made for the remaining regions.

Storjohann (2009: 2151) further observes that such co-ordination is ‘a typical rhetorical-stylistic device to stress certain aspects of the utterance pragmatically’. The rhetorical effect produced, for instance, in the pre-modifier of *one* in [27] lies in the reiteration of the common semantic core of the adjectives *uneducated* and *ignorant* all the while asserting their minor differences that are subsumed in the resulting coordinative structure. Synonym coordination in [27] effectively places special emphasis on the pre-modifier.

The following example further illustrates the rhetorical-stylistic effect of coordinated synonymy:

[28] Under the influence of Cézanne, Picasso's work becomes once again more purely painterly, and these figures, though still simple and often **clumsy** and **awkward** in appearance, never give the impression [...] of being the pictorial counterparts of wooden sculptures.

The author of the sentence could have easily omitted one or the other of the synonyms *clumsy* and *awkward* without major detriment to the information value of the proposition. The decision to include both of these synonyms, however, betrays an interest in stressing this particular aspect of Picasso's work and invites the reader to spend more time pondering on its clumsiness and awkwardness and to see the relevant figures as both *clumsy* and *awkward*, to see them through these words and to consider not only the common semantic core but also their individual characteristics that make them slightly different.

An important function of the *X and Y* pattern of synonym co-occurrence, then, seems to be linked to a desire to lay added emphasis on whatever it is that the individual co-occurring synonyms mean and perform in a given sentence. Assuming that speakers observe Grice's maxim of quantity, we may expect that their use of such a framework is not haphazard and that there are identifiable reasons for using co-occurring synonyms. What can be claimed with a reasonable certainty is that, at the most basic level, speakers use the *X and Y* pattern simply because using only one or the other member of a synonym pair/set would not meet their communicative needs.

What the communicative needs are, however, varies with the situation. In [29], for instance, the separation of the adjective *constant* by a comma (which would probably translate to a pause when spoken) creates the effect of an afterthought. It seems that the speaker has only thought of adding this word at the last moment but considered it important enough to do so.

[29] They have pledged to be **true**, and **constant**, but all their vows are cheapened by this perfunctory aubade: it makes them seem like verbal foreplay.

Rather than merely giving the utterance a stylistic flourish, the co-occurrence of *true* and *constant* in [29] is likely to have been motivated more by a genuine need to conform to facts. It may be assumed that two separate vows are referred to, one to be true and the other to be constant, and that the speaker in [29] duly separates them.

The two factors motivating the use of the *X and Y* pattern of synonym co-occurrence, i.e. the desire to embellish one's utterance and the need to conform to facts, are closely intertwined and hard to separate. Still, there seems to be a perceivable difference between sentences such as [25] and [29] in the sense that it is the former factor that appears more important in [25] while the latter comes dominant in [29].

#### 4.2.2.2 The coordinated pattern *X, Y*

With sixty occurrences, asyndetic synonym coordination was only slightly less frequent (by six per cent) than the *X and Y* pattern in the research sample. Most of the synonyms coordinated asyndetically were joined using a comma. This pattern of synonym coordination is illustrated in sentences [30] and [31] below. In only a handful of cases was there no comma present yielding a simple juxtaposition of two synonyms, which can be seen in [32].

[30] To cling to a Polish identity was to [...] insist on the right to become and remain part of a backward, **ignorant**, **illiterate**, inward-looking agrarian people, stuck in a rural backwater

with no access to the outside world, with scant interest from that world and little hope of progress.

[31] From being a painfully **shy, diffident** recluse, he suddenly metamorphosed into a garrulous and sometimes painfully overbearing extrovert.

[32] The perception that a **cruel savage** cycle of fertility underlay all the trappings of modern life only served to emphasize for Eliot that there was a higher life, though one infinitely difficult to attain.

Adjectival synonyms sometimes occur as a part of a list of more words whose members may but need not be all synonymous. In [30], the adjectives *ignorant* and *illiterate* are flanked by two words (*backward* and *inward-looking*) with a perceivable semantic relation to the studied pair that is, nonetheless, too feeble to warrant classifying them all as synonyms of each other. In fact, there was only one instance of a synonym cluster as defined by Storjohann (2010: 85) where all the coordinated members in a list are synonyms of each other:

[33] 'You are the most **obstinate, stubborn, pigheaded** man I've ever had the misfortune to come across.'

The presence of a comma is thus often dictated by a need to coordinate more than just two adjectives in cases where syndetic coordination would render the complex noun phrase unwieldy. When there are only two synonyms joined by a comma, as in [31], it is possible to replace the comma by *and* with no change in the resulting meaning.

The functions of synonyms in asyndetic coordination are identical to those of the *X and Y* pattern. Here again synonym coordination straddles the need to conform to the facts of extra-linguistic reality and the desire for rhetorical effects and emphasis. Sentences [33] and [30] are particularly good examples of what has been labelled the emphatic function of synonym co-occurrence where synonyms provide 'an outlet for strong emotions' (Ullmann, 1962: 153).



Immediate juxtaposition of synonyms without a comma (i.e. the *XY* subtype of the asyndetic pattern) bears a strong resemblance to what Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 562) call intensificatory tautology. They define this construction as ‘a sequence of two adjectives with identical or nearly identical meanings’ and note that it is restricted to attributive adjectives and to ‘a very narrow range of adjective meanings – normally “very small” or “very big”’ (ibid.). Typical examples, all of them characteristically informal, include *a tiny little bird*, *a huge big box*, *an enormous great house* or *a thumping big majority*.

The adjectives juxtaposed in the examples above are near-synonyms which express ‘gradable properties at neighboring positions on relative, calibratable scales’ (Storjohann, 2009: 2141). Crucially, the only difference between the individual members lies in their position on the scale of size: *huge* is different from *big* simply in that it is felicitously used of objects that are bigger than *big*. As the name of this construction suggests, intensificatory tautology is essentially concerned with intensification. Thus, if we disregard the difference in style, *a tiny little bird* is equivalent to *a very little bird*.

Sentences [34]-[36] contain coordinated adjectival synonyms in noun phrases that are to a certain extent similar to intensificatory tautology:

[34] ‘Your **affectionate loving** cousin ‘ELIZABETH WOODVILLE’

[35] She had begun to need her rage and her hate, even of late her **fierce cruel** fantasies.

[36] The confidence of those words confirmed that in two and a half years Neighbours [...] had transformed the **shy diffident** Kylie into an ambitious young woman.

In [36], for instance, it could be argued that the juxtaposition of *shy* and *diffident* has an overall intensifying effect as it repeats, and hence emphasizes, their common semantic core of ‘showing disinclination to obtrude oneself in the presence or company of others’. The difference between

these two adjectives<sup>22</sup>, however, cannot be reduced to a simple difference in degree. The combination of *shy diffident* does not equal *very shy* or *very diffident*. It seems better, therefore, to reserve the name intensificatory tautology only to such pairs of juxtaposed synonyms whose difference lies only in the position on a single scale.

#### 4.2.2.3 The coordinated pattern *X or Y*

By far the least numerous type of synonym coordination in the research sample was the *X or Y* pattern.

[37]He wasn't **brave** or **courageous** — just totally unaware of fear in times of crisis.

[38]The learner is seen as in one of two fixed states also: as the **ignorant** or **uneducated** recipient prior to the insertion of knowledge, and as the educated person or product of the school.

[39]For every incident which causes damage to a glider while it is being flown, there must be many more that happen because of **careless** or **thoughtless** ground handling.

Sentences such as [37] where two synonyms joined by *or* occur within the scope of negation are 'equivalent to an and-coordination of negative clauses' (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 1298) making [40] logically equivalent to [37].

[40] He wasn't **brave** and he wasn't **courageous** – just totally unaware of fear in times of crisis.

The function of the *X or Y* pattern following a negative verb is thus similar to that of the *X and Y* pattern. The only difference is that the semantic content of the relevant synonyms including their minor differences is rejected rather than asserted. In [37], then, the adjectives *brave* and *courageous* are both presented as inadequate in describing the subject of the sentence. Instead of using either of them, the author opts for a freer way of expressing a related concept (*unaware of fear*) that lacks the approbation inherent in the original pair of synonyms.

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<sup>22</sup> According to *Webster*, *shy* 'implies a shrinking, sometimes constitutional, sometimes the result of inexperience, from familiarity or contact with others; shyness usually manifests itself in a certain reserve of manner or in timidity in approaching others' whereas *diffident* 'implies a distrust, which may or may not be warranted, of one's own ability, opinions, or powers that gives rise to hesitation in their exercise'.

The function of synonym coordination in sentences such as [38] or [39] is rather more difficult to ascertain. The learner in [38] is described as the ignorant or uneducated recipient of knowledge. Since ‘or is most characteristically used when the speaker believes that only one of the component propositions is true’ (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 1294), a possible interpretation of the *X or Y* pattern in [38] might be the exclusive one which ‘excludes the possibility that both conjoins are true’ (Quirk et al., 1984: 932). The learner, then, could be seen as either ignorant or else uneducated.

The fact that both *ignorant* and *uneducated* share the meaning of ‘not having knowledge’, however, renders such an interpretation rather unlikely<sup>23</sup>. Instead, what seems to be more appropriate is the ‘inclusive interpretation of *or*, where it is implied that both conjoins may be true’ (Quirk et al., 1985: 932). The learner in [38] does not have to be seen as either ignorant or uneducated. Indeed, he or she could easily be both. Similarly, the type of ground handling that is detrimental to a glider in [39] need not be regarded as exclusively careless or alternatively thoughtless.

The general effect of synonym coordination of the *X or Y* type in [38] and [39] is therefore one of exhaustiveness rather than exclusiveness. The semantic space circumscribed by synonymous adjectives is unified in the sense that it does not matter whether it is one conjoin or the other or, indeed, both of them that are selected as true or appropriate in the given context.

The *X or Y* framework of synonym coordination seems, more than the other frameworks, to point to an uncertainty in selecting the appropriate word in a given context. This is arguably discernible in [41] and [42] below:

[41] It offended the religious, because it seemed to make God out to be **untruthful** or **deceitful**;  
in the scientific age, science was after all a route to truth, and only the Devil was the father  
of lies.

[42] Doesn't seem the **shy** or **bashful** type.’

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<sup>23</sup> The improbability of the exclusive interpretation is tied to the semantic overlap between the words *ignorant* and *uneducated*. An uneducated person is by definition ignorant of the knowledge taught in schools. To insist on the distinctness of the two words seems counterintuitive.

Rather than choosing only one word, the author opted for a coordination of synonyms and in doing so abstained from committing himself or herself completely to either of them. In this way, the *X or Y* framework of synonym coordination offers speakers both a possibility to avoid undesired exactness in formulating their thoughts and a solution for situations in which a sought-after word is momentarily unavailable.

A related use of the *X or Y* framework is attested in [43] where *or* introduces a reformulation (cf. Quirk et al., 1984: 1311-1312). The unwillingness to commit oneself to a single word is strengthened here by the presence of a comma.

[43] His name meant **courageous**, or **bold**.

The *X or Y* framework was identified as a major type of antonym coordination (Jones, 2002: 66). Antonyms in this framework are also said to express exhaustiveness but, crucially, they ‘symbolize an entire scale’ (Jones, 2002: 67). The type of exhaustiveness that coordinated antonyms express, thus, differs from the exhaustiveness signaled by coordinated synonyms in an important way: while antonyms in the *X or Y* framework often subsume all the intervening points on a scale between two extremes<sup>24</sup>, synonyms in the same framework do not normally operate on a scale and are consequently nothing more but a union of two semantic spaces.

All the frameworks of synonym coordination identified above could thus be said to express semantic exhaustiveness and inclusiveness. Furthermore, they all point to speakers’ awareness and conscious use of synonyms in discourse. The crucial difference between the individual frameworks of synonym coordination lies in how emphatic they are. Where the *X and Y* framework presents both conjoins with equal strength, the *X or Y* pattern is much more tentative allowing speakers a certain degree of imprecision.

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Jones’s (2002: 66) example sentence: ‘But assuming no scandals, **old** or **new**, precipitate presidential disgrace, what is he to do if a triumphant place in history is to be assured?’ The function of coordinated antonyms in this sentence is to represent all the points on the scale of age.

### 4.2.3 Negated synonymy (*X, not Y*)

The only convincing example of what could be termed negated synonymy in the research sample was the following:

[44] **Cruel**, a little, but not **savage**: Alix could see Hannah smiling gamely, taking it in good part, and wondered if she was also taking in the rather subtle sub-text of allusions to drugs other than nicotine.

The adjectives *cruel* and *savage* that could under certain conditions pass for interchangeable synonyms are explicitly contrasted in [44]. What the *X not Y* pattern of synonym co-occurrence does is negate one member of a synonym pair in order to augment the other member. Here, *savage* is explicitly rejected so as to insist that it is *cruel* that adequately describes its subject and not the other member. The negation of *savage*, then, limits the possible interpretations of *cruel* by drawing a sharp boundary between the two synonyms and, in doing so, increases the overall clarity and precision of the proposition.

The relationship holding between *cruel* and *savage* is schematically depicted in Figure 2. The blue square shows that it is the semantic content of *cruel* alone that is meant here and that the part of the meaning of *savage* that differentiates it from *cruel* is rejected. The function of the *X not Y* pattern is to present the *X* member of a synonym pair in contrast with, and on the background of, the *Y* member in order to stress the former and reject the latter.

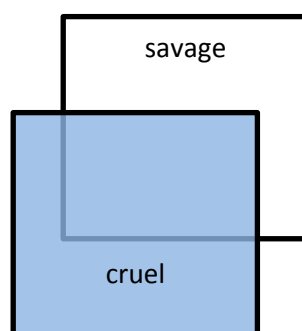


Figure 2: *X not Y* pattern schematically represented

The fact that there was only one instance of negated synonymy in the whole research sample seems to tally with the intuitive sense of synonymy as a relation that is more concerned with similarity than with fine shades of difference between individual synonyms. The ease with which [44] is immediately interpretable suggests that the differences between *savage* and *cruel* are salient enough to be readily accessible.

It seems that the readiness with which synonyms enter the *X not Y* pattern could be used as a heuristic for discerning degrees of 'synonymity'. The virtual impossibility of interpreting the invented example in [45] suggests that *confident* and *sure* are more synonymous than *savage* and *cruel*.

[45] ?She was confident that she would win, (but) not sure.

The following example from the research sample presents what seems to be a variation on the *X not Y* pattern but serves a different function:

[46] The Americans, to their great credit, have recently taken the **bold**, if not **brave**, initiative, of targeting young black talent for special help [...].

The main difference between [44] and [46] lies in the fact that the latter is much less assertive. Instead of emphasizing one word by rejecting the other, [46] vacillates between the two as if the speaker was not sure whether it is *bold* or *brave* that better captures his or her communicative intent. In this sense, it is closer to the *X or Y* pattern than to negated synonymy as seen in [44].

There are, in addition, other means of contrasting synonyms attested in the sample that do not feature explicit negation but that, nevertheless, foreground the differences between members of synonym pairs. Since these are functionally as well as constructionally distinct, they will be treated in a separate section.

#### 4.2.4 Scalar synonymy (*X, even/almost/nearly Y*)

What I decided to call scalar synonymy is a pattern of synonym co-occurrence that makes use of the differences between members of synonym pairs by placing them on a scale of intensity where one

member is presented as ‘stronger’ than the other. This pattern, attested four times in the sample, typically features words such as *even*, *almost* and *nearly*. As such, scalar synonymy does not have a direct counterpart in Jones’s (2002) classification of new types of antonymy.

[47] He seemed **diffident**, even **shy**.

[48] But Goibniu was **smooth** and courteous; he was very nearly **urbane**.

[49] To complete the portrait took three sittings and each time, to Indenbaum's surprise, Modigliani turned up clean-shaven and well-groomed, and behaved in a **modest**, almost **shy** manner.

There is a discernible attempt at precision in characterizing the respective subjects of [47] and [48] and an analogous desire to find the right word to describe Modigliani’s manner in [49]. The *X, even Y* framework in [47] presents its subject as someone so *diffident* that it might be appropriate to characterize him as *shy*. Analogically in [48], Goibniu is described as being *smooth* and courteous to such an extent that he could be said to be almost *urbane*.

In a sense, scalar synonymy displays an uncertainty in choosing the right word that is similar to that observed in the *X or Y* pattern. Here, however, the uncertainty lies in the need to name a quality that is situated at the blurry boundary between two concepts. In other words, the co-occurrence of synonyms in the *X, even/almost/nearly Y* pattern allows speakers to fine-tune the correspondence of language to extra-linguistic reality whenever they feel that no single word would do the job.

#### 4.2.5 Patterns of contrastive co-occurrence?

In her study of German plesionyms<sup>25</sup>, Storjohann (2009) groups what I have termed scalar synonymy and negated synonymy together and considers both of these patterns, along with some others, as instances of contrastive co-occurrence<sup>26</sup>. She argues that ‘both meaning equivalent and contrastive

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<sup>25</sup> Storjohann prefers the term *plesionym* to *near-synonym* because, in her view, *near-synonym* places emphasis on the notion of similarity and her data show that at least some *near-synonyms*, i.e. *plesionyms* in her terminology, often function contrastively.

<sup>26</sup> Storjohann also takes into account instances of inersentential co-occurrence.

relations can be equally construed contextually' (Storjohann, 2009: 2145) and that 'it is a major characteristic of plesionymic terms that they oscillate between types of semantic relation and that they do so systematically' (ibid). In fact, for one pair of plesionyms she studied, *billig* and *preiswert* (*cheap* and *reasonable* respectively), Storjohann identified a possible affinity for a contrastive reading as 66% of their co-occurrences featured contrastive relations.

Storjohann's findings seem to support the hypothesis hinted at in 4.2.3. that could be reformulated as follows: as synonymy gradually shades into near-synonymy, the likelihood with which putative synonyms function contrastively in discourse increases. More quantitative data, however, and a clear definition of what exactly a contrastive relation of co-occurring synonyms/near-synonyms is are necessary to test the hypothesis. Clear criteria for delimiting contrastive uses of co-occurring synonyms are crucial because one could persuasively argue that almost any co-occurrence of synonyms, including the dominant *X and Y* pattern, is in fact contrastive in the sense that it does not suppress the differences inherent in the individual members of synonym pairs.

#### **4.2.6 Analogues to Jones's (2002) new classes of antonymy: an overview**

Of the eight patterns of antonym co-occurrence identified by Jones (2002) only two had direct counterparts in the research sample of co-occurring synonyms. These were coordinated synonymy, which accounted for 60% of the sentences in the research sample, and negated synonymy, attested but once. Whether synonyms occasionally enter any of the remaining six patterns remains to be established by empirical research. It seems, however, that at least the ancillary pattern and the extreme pattern<sup>27</sup> are limited to co-occurring antonyms.

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<sup>27</sup> Jones defines extreme antonymy as 'the co-occurrence of an antonymous pair within a framework that unites the outer-most areas of their given semantic scale' (Jones, 2002: 91). Crucially, extreme antonymy stresses 'the semantic distance placed between antonyms' (ibid.) so that the two semantic areas that are united do not include the 'semantic territory in between' (ibid.). Synonyms, on the other hand, by virtue of being semantically so close, seem to preclude the possibility of an analogous framework.



Patterns of antonym co-occurrence identified by Jones (2002)	Analogous patterns of synonym co-occurrence attested in the research sample
Ancillary antonymy <i>Form is <b>temporary</b>, class is <b>permanent</b>.</i>	X
Coordinated antonymy A massive slump in both <b>public</b> and <b>private</b> standards.	Coordinated synonymy She knew she would be <b>gauche</b> and <b>awkward</b> .
Comparative antonymy Sometimes I feel more <b>masculine</b> than <b>feminine</b> and I don't like it.	X
Distinguished antonymy British Petroleum welcomed the increase in the differential between <b>leaded</b> and <b>unleaded</b> fuel.	X
Transitional antonymy Funds continued to be transferred from the <b>poor</b> world to the <b>rich</b> .	X
Negated antonymy Government must play an <b>active</b> , not <b>passive</b> , role in addressing the problems of the day.	Negated synonymy <b>Cruel</b> , a little, but not <b>savage</b> .
Extreme antonymy The track [...] can be used when conditions are either too <b>dry</b> or too <b>wet</b> for racing on turf.	X
Idiomatic antonymy They evidently knew they could teach this <b>old</b> dog a few <b>new</b> tricks.	X
X	Scalar synonymy Modigliani [...] behaved in a <b>modest</b> , almost <b>shy</b> manner.

Table 7: Patterns of antonym co-occurrence compared with patterns of synonym co-occurrence

There occurred, on the other hand, a pattern that did not have a model in Jones's classification: scalar synonymy. The *X even/almost/nearly Y* pattern is incompatible with antonyms as the connecting word requires X and Y to be close to each other on a given scale. What I have termed scalar synonymy may turn out to be a characteristic pattern of synonym co-occurrence. The data suggest, however, that it is much less robust than coordinated synonymy.

All the patterns of synonym co-occurrence dealt with above only account for about 65% of the analysed sentences. In addition to two metalinguistic occurrences, the majority of the remaining sentences displayed what I have termed variation.

	Coordinated synonymy	138	60%
PATTERNS	Negated synonymy	1	0,4%
	Scalar synonymy	4	1,7%
CONFIGURATION	Variation	83	36%
	Metalinguistic uses	2	0,9%
Miscellaneous	Other	2	0,9%
TOTAL		230	100%

Table 8: Overview of patterns identified for co-occurring synonyms

### 4.3 Variation

Variation is quite unlike the patterns dealt with above. Indeed, it might be preferable not to use the word pattern when referring to such co-occurrences of synonyms as seen in [52]-[53]. The most reliable method of delimiting of what I mean by variation is to consider the syntactic functions performed by the individual adjectival synonyms.

Consider first the syntactic functions of the adjectives in sentences [50] and [51], both of them featuring coordinated synonymy. In [51], the adjectives *sane* and *sensible* both function as premodifiers of the noun *man*. In the same vein, [51] contains *polite* and *courteous* which function as subject complements of the unexpressed subject of the imperative. Crucially, both synonym pairs have the same syntactic function in their respective sentences and, even more importantly, they are modifiers of the same head or complements of the same subject. This follows, naturally, from the nature of coordination, which combines units at the same functional level.

[50] He was such a **sane** and **sensible** man.

[51] Always remain **polite** and **courteous**, even if the sale fails.

In contrast to coordinated synonymy, and to scalar and negated synonymy, which display the same distribution of syntactic functions, synonyms co-occurring in the variation configuration very often do not perform the same syntactic function and, if they do, they modify distinct heads or complement different subjects as the case may be. Even though the adjectives *faithful* and *true* in [52] have the same syntactic function, they complement distinct subjects: *faithful* is said of *parents* and *true* of children. [53], on the other hand, displays a configuration where *bland* functions as the subject

complement of the noun phrase *his expression* while *suave* is a premodifier of the noun *businessman*.

[52] When parents are **faithful** to each other, it's more likely that their children will grow up to be **true** to each other, too.

[53] Rocking gently in his chair, his expression **bland**, he was the epitome of the **suave**, impeccable businessman.

Sentences such as [52] and [53] thus display a distinct type of intrasentential synonym co-occurrence that can be defined and delimited syntactically. The dataset examined in the present thesis contained eighty-three instances of such co-occurrence which accounts for 36% of all the examined sentences. This pattern, or rather configuration, of synonym co-occurrence is internally varied and does not allow blanket identification with a particular discourse function nor with a single factor responsible for the co-occurrence. What all the sentences in this group do seem to have in common, however, is that one of the factors motivating synonym co-occurrence in these sentences may be the desire to avoid repeating the same word.

Synonymy has long been recognized as a means of avoiding repetition and commended on this account for 'add[ing] color and variety to the language' (Colonna, 2006: 49). Very often, however, the same authors who recommend using synonyms also caution against their overuse and misuse (cf. the discussion in Danglii and Abazaj, 2014). In one of his thoughts on style, Blaise Pascal observed that 'when we find words repeated in a discourse, and, in trying to correct them, discover that they are so appropriate that we would spoil the discourse, we must leave them alone' (Pascal, 1958: 12). The very notion of correcting repeated words betrays a strong need to vary one's speech production. Pascal shows, however, that this need is not absolute and that there are other aspects that need to be taken into account when deciding on whether or not to use a synonym when referring to the same concept.

An empirical study which compared the effects of synonymy and word repetition on reader comprehension found that ‘synonyms have a positive effect on attractiveness, but a negative effect on reading time and comprehensibility’ (Oversteegen and van Wijk, 2003: 164). There are, then, two drives that operate against each other whenever a speaker needs to refer to the same concept: the need to vary one’s expressions so as to avoid monotony and the need to preserve comprehensibility that is best achieved by word repetition.

The need to avoid repetition is especially noticeable in [52], which contains an example of parallelism: the structure *ADJECTIVE to each other* occurs twice within the same sentence and the parallel structures only differ in the choice of the adjective. Where parents are said to be *faithful* to each other, children can be expected to be *true* to each other too. While there exist minor semantic differences between *faithful* and *true*, they do not seem to be foregrounded in [52] because of the presence of the additive subjunct *too*, which presupposes that the focused structure is identical to the first of the parallel structures. Therefore, the primary factor responsible for the use of synonyms in [52] can be safely assumed to reside in the speaker’s desire to avoid monotony.

It needs to be stressed, however, that the need to avoid repeating the same word is just one of many factors that are at play in sentences attributed to the variation configuration.

[54] BELVILLE: O, she may be your favourite as a waiting maid but I see nothing but **clumsy** curtseys and **awkward** airs about her.

In [54], for example, it might be tempting to regard the co-occurrence of *clumsy* and *awkward* as being motivated mainly by a desire to avoid repeating the same word for what is essentially the same concept of not being ‘adapted by constitution or character to act, operate, or achieve the intended or desired ends with ease, fitness or grace’. Alternatively, one could argue that the choice of *clumsy* to describe *curtseys* and *awkward* to describe *airs* was carefully made precisely on account of the semantic differences between the two adjectives. *Clumsy* could then be seen as stressing ‘stiffness or heaviness with consequent want of flexibility or dexterity’ of the *curtseys* and *awkward* would

suggest ‘embarrassment or discomfiture’ as a dominant impression caused by the maid’s behaviour. In addition, the two factors could also work together.

Another important factor that may influence the choice of synonyms co-occurring in the variation configuration is the collocational profile of the adjectives in question. Collocational preferences seem to have played an important role in [55]:

[55] As a prime minister he probably ranked with Ramsay MacDonald in **humble** origin and **modest** wealth.

Here, the adjectives *humble* and *modest* are used as premodifiers of *origin* and *wealth* respectively. Table 9 gives the raw frequencies of all the possible combinations of the adjectives from the *humble* set with the lemma *origin* in the British section of the Google Books corpus<sup>28</sup>.

humble	origin/origins	13 498
meek		-
modest		819
lowly		2 191

Table 9: Collocational preferences of members of the *humble* set with the noun *origin* in the Google Books corpus

With the exception of *meek*, all the remaining members of the *humble* set can premodify the noun *origin*. It is *humble*, however, that is by far the most frequent collocate. That the speaker of [55] chose to use the noun phrase *humble origin* instead of *modest origin* or *lowly origin* has probably to do with the strength of the collocational bond between *humble* and *origin*. In the case of *modest wealth*, the speaker had no choice but to opt for *modest* as none of the remaining members of the *humble* set was found to premodify the noun *wealth* in the same corpus.

Once again, collocational preferences are but one of a number of factors at play, which may work together or against each other. It could be argued that the presence of *modest* in the fixed collocation *modest wealth* in [55] precluded the speaker from using the same adjective in connection with *origin*. In this sense, the fixed collocation may be seen as contributing towards and

<sup>28</sup> Accessed at <http://googlebooks.byu.edu/>.

strengthening the choice of *humble* as a premodifier of *origin*. The two factors, thus, seem to have worked synergistically.

In addition to the need to avoid monotony, to collocational preferences of individual synonyms, to the desire to match words with the extra-linguistic reality as closely as possible, idiolectal preferences may also have an impact on the final configuration of co-occurring synonyms in a given sentence. What I hope to have stressed is that the internally varied group of sentences ascribed to the variation configuration only features variation as a possible factor that may, but need not, manifest itself in the final choice of synonyms.

All the sentences in the dataset could, thus, be divided into two broad categories based on whether or not variation figures as a potential factor influencing the co-occurrence of synonyms in the respective sentences. Such a division is possible because variation, understood as a force acting against repetition of the same word for stylistic reasons, cannot manifest itself in what has been labelled coordinated, scalar or negated synonymy. Compare the possibility of replacing *obstinate* with *stubborn* in [56] giving the unattested, but acceptable, [57] with the impossibility of a similar replacement in [58].

[56] There's a **stubborn** clinging to bad habits that benign social planners and therapists would like to 'liberate' us from, an **obstinate** refusal to 'move on up' and make something of oneself.

[57] There's a **stubborn** clinging to bad habits that benign social planners and therapists would like to 'liberate' us from, a **stubborn** refusal to 'move on up' and make something of oneself.

[58] In fact, if you are a **sane** and **sensible** Aquarian, you will leave matters well alone, both personally and at work, until after the Full Moon on the 14th.

Replacing *sensible* in [58] with *sane* would yield an uninterpretable noun phrase *a sane and sane Aquarian*. Hence, the motivation for coordinating the two adjectives in [58] resides not in the desire to avoid unwanted repetition but rather in the need to incorporate the meanings of *sane* and

*sensible* into one unit. Equally unacceptable would be instances of the *X not Y* pattern and the *X even/almost/nearly Y* pattern with the same word filling the slots *X* and *Y*.

## 5 Conclusion

Applying Jones's (2002) approach to studying synonymy has proved to be fruitful and worthwhile in a number of ways:

First, the analysis of seventeen synonym sets in the BNC showed that, even in a relatively small corpus, synonyms do co-occur in regular patterns which fulfil specific discourse functions. The main pattern characteristic of co-occurring synonyms in the present thesis was the coordinated one, which accounted for 60% of all the sentences. The pattern *X and Y*, as well as the asyndetic pattern *X,Y* is used to express inclusiveness and/or exhaustiveness in cases where minor semantic differences between the conjoined members may be discernible.

Second, at least one pattern of co-occurrence was identified for synonyms that does not have an analogue in Jones's (2002) classification of new types of antonymy. The so-called scalar pattern seems to be characteristic of such synonym pairs where there is an identifiable difference in intensity. More research, however, needs to be done on what types of synonyms readily follow this pattern.

Third, the relative paucity of unique patterns of synonym co-occurrence seems to confirm the doubts that have been voiced as to the fruitfulness of studying synonymy in this way. Compared with the variety of patterns displayed by co-occurring antonyms, synonymy does appear much less prominent on the syntagmatic plane. This, however, does not mean that synonymy does not have syntagmatic implications. On the contrary, co-occurring synonyms allow speakers to fine-tune their language production to suit their communicative needs in ways that are not easily replaced by other means. The *X or Y* pattern, for instance, helps speakers in situations when they might not want to commit themselves to one word only.

Fourth, about 36% of the analysed sentences defied being classified into distinct patterns. These were the sentences where synonym co-occurrence may have been influenced by a desire to avoid



repetition of the same word. More work, however, needs to be carried out to disentangle the web of various factors responsible for synonym co-occurrence in cases such as these.

Possible areas of further research include the principles that govern the order in which coordinated synonyms are normally used. Another direction of research was opened by the observation that not all synonyms permit the negated pattern. It would be interesting to see whether this correlates with popular perceptions of the differences between synonymy, near-synonymy and non-synonymy. Finally, the statistical significance of synonym co-occurrence needs to be ascertained.

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- Webster's New Dictionary of Synonyms* (1984)

## Résumé (v slovenčine)

Významové vzťahy, akými sú napríklad antonymia a synonymia, sa obvykle v lingvistike, obzvlášť v jej štrukturalistických vetvách, skúmali a chápali na paradigmatickej úrovni ako vzťahy medzi lexikálnymi jednotkami v jazykovom systéme. V prípade synonymie sa teda hlavný dôraz kládol na to, do akej miery sa dve synonymá významovo prekrývajú a do akej miery sú v daných kontextoch nahraditeľné. Išlo tak zväčša o skúmanie vzťahu synonymických dvojíc *in absentia*, t. j. medzi daným slovom a jeho potenciálnym nahradením v danom kontexte.

Ako však ukázali recentné štúdie antonymie v angličtine, významové vzťahy sa prejavujú aj na syntagmatickej rovine. V prípade spolu sa vyskytujúcich antonymických dvojíc sa napríklad zistilo, že slová opačného významu vstupujú do charakteristických schém, ktoré plnia rozličné textové funkcie: stávajú sa prostriedkami vyjadrenia a zdôraznenia kontrastu medzi ďalšími časťami vety, často fungujú v koordinovaných schémach, kde zdôrazňujú úplnosť škály atď.

Táto diplomová práca si kladie za cieľ zistiť, či sa podobné schémy dajú nájsť aj v prípade spolu sa vyskytujúcich synonymým. Analogickým spôsobom v nej preto skúmame anglické synonymá vo vetnom kontexte a pokúšame sa identifikovať a opísať ich charakteristické schémy spoluvýskytu. Následne sa snažíme o ich vysvetlenie s odkazom na funkcie, ktoré v daných kontextoch plnia.

Práca je rozdelená do piatich kapitol a obsahuje teoretickú i empirickú časť. Po úvodnej kapitole, ktorá v krátkosti načrtáva teoretické východiská, zámer a štruktúru práce, nasleduje teoretická časť, kde sú prezentované hlavné prístupy k synonymii tak, ako boli formulované lingvistami od druhej polovice 20. storočia. Ukazuje sa, že väčšina prístupov k rovnoznačnosti uznáva jej škálový charakter, čo znamená, že v prípade synonymie je nutné rozlišovať jej stupne. Pri každom z hlavných prístupov k synonymii preto poukazujeme na to, akým spôsobom je v jednotlivých prístupoch charakterizovaný najvyšší stupeň synonymie a na to, ako je štruktúrovaný sémantický priestor medzi rovnoznačnosťou

a nerovnoznačnosťou. Rôzne typy a podtypy synonymie považujeme za dôležité rozlíšiť preto, lebo je opodstatnené predpokladať, že ich formy spoluvýskytu sa budú od seba líšiť.

Teoretická časť v podkapitole 2.3 pokračuje predstavením súboru štúdií a poznatkov, ktoré sa týkajú spoluvýskytu synonym. Medzi textové funkcie, ktoré boli pre spolu sa vyskytujúce synonymá identifikované, patrí predovšetkým štylistická funkcia, ktorá spočíva vo vyhýbaní sa nežiaducemu opakovaniu slov prostredníctvom použitia synonymického výrazu. Synonymá boli tiež identifikované ako prostriedok lexikálnej kohézie. Synonymá ďalej môžeme nájsť v blízkosti cudzích slov, kde slúžia ako ich dodatočné vysvetlenie. Tento typ spoluvýskytu má v angličtine pevné miesto už od stredoveku, keď do jazyka prenikalo množstvo nových slov cudzieho pôvodu, ktoré boli glosované ich domácimi ekvivalentmi. Podobným typom spoluvýskytu sú tie prípady, ak sa používateľ jazyka rozhodne „opraviť“ a použiť iný výraz pre práve vypovedané slovo. Špecifickú funkciu má reťazenie synonym, ktoré môže slúžiť ako prostriedok emfázy.

V podčasti 2.3.3 sú predstavené tri schémy spoluvýskytu, ktoré boli doložené (pri nemeckých synonymách?). V prvom rade tu ide o koordinačnú schému (napr. *X und Y* (X a Y)). Funkciou koordinačnej schémy je vyjadriť inkluzívnosť a zahrnúť tak do výslednej koordinovanej jednotky akékoľvek potenciálne rozdiely medzi dvojicou synonym. Ďalším typom schémy sú tzv. synonymické klastre, t. j. zreťazenia troch a viacerých synonym, zvyčajne asyndeticky, ktoré umožňujú používateľom jazyka vyjadriť koncept vyčerpávajúco a zachytiť tak rôzne expresívne, štylistické ako aj denotačné rozdiely medzi jednotlivými členmi. Tretím typom spoluvýskytu je typ subordinačný (napr. *X, das heißt Y* (X, čo znamená Y)), ktorý obvykle slúži ako prostriedok dodatočného vysvetlenia, resp. ako definičná parafráza.

V poslednej podkapitole teoretickej časti prezentujeme prelomovú prácu Stevena Jonesa o antonymách, ktorej metodológia bola hlavným zdrojom predkladanej diplomovej práce. V krátkosti sa venujeme teoretickým východiskám Jonesovej práce a jeho hlavným zisteniam, pričom dôraz kladieme na tie aspekty, ktoré sú adaptovateľné a relevantné pre štúdium spoluvýskytu synonym.

Tretia kapitola je venovaná prezentácii výskumných otázok a podrobnému opisu zvolenej metodológie. Každá z nasledujúcich otázok bola formulovaná v nadväznosti na predchádzajúci výskum:

1. Existujú schémy spoluvýskytu synonym, ktoré by boli analogické k schémam doloženým pre páry antoným?
2. Do akej miery sa synonymá vyskytujúce sa spolu v jednej vete zvyknú združovať pri sebe?
3. Keď sa dve synonymá spoločne vyskytnú v tej istej vete, aká je pravdepodobnosť, že budú explicitne odlišené?

Vlastná metodologická časť približuje postup výberu synonymických radov a upozorňuje na niekoľko metodologických obmedzení a faktorov, ktoré sťažujú štúdium spoluvýskytu synonym. Predovšetkým je nutné zdôrazniť absenciu všeobecne prijímanej definície synonymie a z nej vyplývajúcu rôznorodosť javov, ktoré bývajú termínom synonymia označované. Ďalším obmedzením je samotné množstvo synonym, ktoré sa, na rozdiel od antoným, nezdužujú do dvojíc, ale do synonymických radov. Za účelom štúdia spoluvýskytu synonym je preto potrebné obmedziť sa na viac-menej arbitrárne vybranú podmnožinu slov a zvoliť si jednu spomedzi rozličných koncepcií synonymie.

Pre výber synonym určených na analýzu sme použili synonymický slovník *Webster's New Dictionary of Synonyms*, ktorý nám zároveň poskytol definičné vymedzenie synonymie. V ďalšom kroku sme zvolili sedemnást hesiel, ktoré sme spolu s ich synonymickými radmi podrobili analýze: *awkward* (vo význame nemotorný), *brave* (odvážny), *careless* (nedbanlivý), *civil* (vo význame zdvorilý), *confident* (presvedčený), *contemptible* (opovrhnutiahodný), *covetous* (dychtivý), *dishonest* (nečestný), *faithful* (verný), *fierce* (divoký), *humble* (pokorný), *ignorant* (nevzdelaný), *loving* (milujúci), *obstinate* (tvrdohlavý), *shy* (plachý), *suave* (uhladený) a *wise* (múdry).

Pre každý synonymický rad sme následne určili všetky možné kombinácie synonym v daných radoch. Vetné spoluvýskyty takto určených dvojíc sme vyhľadali v Britskom národnom korpuse a získali tak

dvestoosemdesiatpäť výskytov. Z týchto výskytov bolo nutné v ďalšom kroku vylúčiť tie vety, v ktorých, zvyčajne z dôvodu polysémie niektorého člena skúmaných dvojíc, nešlo o spoluvýskyt synonym. Do vlastnej analýzy bolo preto zaradených dvestotridsať viet.

Štvrtá kapitola obsahuje vlastnú analýzu dát a delí sa na tri podkapitoly. V podkapitole 4.1 sa venujeme vzdialenosti medzi dvojicami synonym, v podkapitole 4.2 skúmame syntagmatické schémy a v podkapitole 4.3 sa pokúšame vysvetliť také spoluvýskyty synonym, ktoré nevstupujú do jasne odlíšených schém.

Na základe skúmanej vzorky sa ukazuje, že synonymá sa obvykle vyskytujú blízko pri sebe. Najčastejšie (v 36,5 % prípadov) je medzi dvojicami synonym jedno slovo, obvykle spojka. Pomerne frekventované (20 %) je aj zreťazenie synonym bez akýchkoľvek slov medzi nimi. So stúpajúcou vzdialenosťou počet spoločne sa vyskytujúcich synonym postupne klesá. Vzdialenosť medzi dvojicami spolu sa vyskytujúcich synonym však predstavuje len odraz syntaktických vzťahov, o ktorých pojednávajú ďalšie podkapitoly.

V podkapitole 4.2 sa venujeme systematickému porovnávaní konštrukčných schém, ktoré boli doložené pre spolu sa vyskytujúce antonymá, so schémami, do ktorých vstupujú synonymá. Analýza ukázala, že tzv. pomocná schéma (*ancillary antonymy*), ktorá bola doložená pre spolu sa vyskytujúce antonymá, nemá v prípade synonym priamy analogon.

Najfrekventovanejšia schéma spoluvýskytu synonym (60 % analyzovaných viet) je koordináčna. V nej rozlišujeme tri typy podľa toho, akým spôsobom sú synonymá spojené. Najčastejší typ predstavuje schéma *X and Y* (*X a Y*), ktorá signalizuje sémantickú inkluzívnosť výslednej koordinovanej štruktúry. Synonymá spojené spojkou *and* tak tvoria celok, ktorý zahŕňa aj drobné rozdiely, ktorými sa jednotlivé synonymá od seba líšia. Koordináčna schéma je prostriedkom štylistického ozvláštnenia v tom zmysle, že v nej dochádza k zdôrazneniu spoločného sémantického jadra, ktoré je vlastné obom členom synonymického páru, a zároveň k zahrnutiu ich rozdielov do výslednej štruktúry.

Okrem snahy o emfatické vyjadrenie však v prípade schémy *X and Y* je prítomná aj snaha, čo najpresnejšie opísať realitu.

Druhým najčastejším typom koordinačnej schémy bolo asyndetické spojenie dvoch synonym, obvykle prostredníctvom čiarky. Len v jednom prípade sa vyskytol tzv. synonymický klaster. Funkcie tohto typu sú identické so schémou *X and Y*.

Najzriedkavejším typom koordinačnej schémy bolo spojenie synonym pomocou spojky *or* (alebo) v schéme *X or Y* (*X* alebo *Y*). Tento typ chápeme ako rétorický prostriedok, ktorý umožňuje používateľom jazyka pohybovať sa v istom sémantickom rozmedzí bez toho, aby sa museli nutne prikloniť len k jednému významu.

Štatisticky menej významnou schémou spoluvýskytu je tzv. popretie synonymie, ktoré bolo realizované v analyzovaných vetách iba raz. Ide o schému *X, not Y* (*X*, nie *Y*), kde sa explicitne zdôrazňujú rozdiely medzi synonymami tým, že sa jeden člen synonymického páru poprie, zatiaľ čo druhý je zdôraznený. Týmto spôsobom dochádza k jasnejšiemu vymedzeniu hraníc významu daného slova, ktoré zreteľnejšie vystupujú na pozadí popretého slova.

Poslednou schémou spoluvýskytu, ktorú sme identifikovali pre synonymá, je tzv. škálová schéma. Tá nemá svoj analogon v prípade antonym a vystupuje preto ako charakteristická, i keď štatisticky málo významná, schéma spolu sa vyskytujúcich synonym. Škálová schéma *X, even/almost/nearly Y* (*X*, dokonca/skoro/takmer *Y*) predkladá členy synonymických párov ako, čo do intenzity, nerovné. Slúži ako prostriedok odkazovania na hraničné polia škály.

Prehľad syntagmatických schém spolu sa vyskytujúcich synonym uzatvára oddiel podkapitola 4.2.6, ktorá názorne porovnáva schémy typické pre antonymá so schémami, ktoré sú charakteristické pre synonymá.



Empirická časť je zakončená podkapitolou 4.3, ktorá sa venuje spolu sa vyskytujúcim synonymám nevstupujúcim do syntagmatických schém. Tento typ spoluvýskytu nazývame variáciou, pretože sa domnievame, že sa tu, na rozdiel od vyššie uvedených syntagmatických schém, môže prejavíť snaha vyhnúť sa opakovaniu toho istého slova. Spolu sa vyskytujúce synonymá v tejto konfigurácii vymedzujeme na základe syntaktických kritérií a názorne poukazujeme na iné faktory, ako sú napríklad kolokačné preferencie, ktoré môže ovplyvniť výber a použité synonym vo vetnom kontexte.

V piatej kapitole rekapitulujeme najdôležitejšie zistenia a navrhujeme, akými smermi by sa mohlo ďalšie bádanie o syntagmatickom rozmere synonymie uberať.

## Appendix

AWKWARD	
1)	The rest of the class suffered its demise in the winter of 1934 when they were replaced by the streamlined double-deckers as part of Manager Walter Luff's modernisation of the tramway. 59 was spared and sent for storage to Fleetwood depot, following a valedictory tribute in the Evening Gazette: 'They were <b>clumsy</b> , <b>awkward</b> and dangerous, but they were Blackpool's own trams, and there was nothing like them anywhere else.
2)	Weakness of extremities or just <b>awkward</b> and <b>clumsy</b> .
3)	Can sometimes look <b>awkward</b> , even <b>clumsy</b> in the ring but trainer Ronnie Davies insists: 'He's a natural athlete, a very good runner.'
4)	BELVILLE: O, she may be your favourite as a waiting maid but I see nothing but <b>clumsy</b> curtseys and <b>awkward</b> airs about her.
5)	Under the influence of Cézanne, Picasso's work becomes once again more purely painterly, and these figures, though still simple and often <b>clumsy</b> and <b>awkward</b> in appearance, never give the impression, as did so many of the paintings of the Negroid phase, of being the pictorial counterparts of wooden sculptures.
6)	She felt <b>clumsy</b> and <b>awkward</b> ; but irritated too.
7)	Her mouth was <b>clumsy</b> and <b>awkward</b> like a child's good night, and when she spoke the words vibrated inside my mouth.
8)	To give all this up may initially cause one to feel relatively <b>awkward</b> and <b>inept</b> in company.
9)	She knew she would be <b>gauche</b> and <b>awkward</b> .
10)	She followed the film stills with a series which took the convention of the centrefold pin-up and twisted it with a <b>gauche</b> naturalness — creating an <b>awkward</b> , sharp, counter-attack on voyeurism.
11)	You will feel <b>clumsy</b> and <b>inept</b> at most of the manual skills for at least a year;; confidence and speed will only begin to appear the second or third time round.
BRAVE	
12)	You see he was a hero , a social hero, a small guy, a fall guy, not necessarily a <b>brave</b> or <b>courageous</b> guy, usually the opposite.
13)	Those who 'came out' and directly declared their homosexuality were regarded as <b>brave</b> and <b>courageous</b> .
14)	He wasn't <b>brave</b> or <b>courageous</b> — just totally unaware of fear in times of crisis.
15)	view is that one hopes that [pause] [unclear] my hopes are that [unclear] of the direct report you er worked for erm is equal and competent and is erm in a sense <b>courageous</b> and <b>brave</b> and that they realize that sometimes to get the best results you have to do things which are perhaps challenging and orthodox
16)	'He's direct, <b>brave</b> and <b>courageous</b> and his inclusion would give them a lift.'
17)	People in all parties, not just our own, are very <b>courageous</b> people, very <b>brave</b> and will not be deflected from serving the community and political process.
18)	The image that most people have of Richard I Coeur de Lion is of a <b>brave</b> , chivalrous knight and a <b>fearless</b> soldier.
19)	Where else, in a house of this small size, would you see such an extravagantly <b>bold</b> style and <b>brave</b> proportions?

20) The Americans, to their great credit, have recently taken the <b>bold</b> , if not <b>brave</b> , initiative, of targeting young black talent for special help, in association with many of the foremost, up and running, and independent schemes in the country and in complete accord with United States Tennis Association's (USTA) President, Bob Cookson's stated aim, that of 'providing growth opportunities for young American tennis players from every background and all environments'.
21) Sculley would be a <b>bold</b> choice, but perhaps a little too <b>brave</b> .
22) How <b>brave</b> of her, how <b>bold</b> of her, was she perhaps even now reciting to Roy the interesting medical and legal details of her case?
23) That was a time when the proudest moment of Denis's young life had been being brought by his mother to Fitzgerald's Park to see his father, <b>brave</b> and <b>bold</b> and handsome in his dress uniform, standing firmly to attention with his company as His Majesty King Edward VII — who seemed to Denis like a huge teapot with his cigar puffing steam like a spout — and Queen Alexandra moved sedately among the flower displays at the Great Cork Exhibition.
24) But Nilsson was something of a phenomenon: he was <b>brave</b> , <b>audacious</b> but controlled on the circuit, quiet, affable and engaging off it.
25) And Romano de Sciorto's name kept cropping up over and over, this fun, <b>fearless</b> and <b>courageous</b> friend, who was helping her to live her life to the full ...
26) ' <b>Fearless</b> ' and ' <b>courageous</b> ' are her favourite adjectives.
27) George rises to praise Mr Browne for his ' <b>valiant</b> , <b>courageous</b> speech', his 'rearguard action', his 'gentlemanly' manner.
28) I know how <b>courageous</b> your life has been, how <b>dauntless</b> your purpose, how unshaken and unshakeable your faith that this is not all, that we go on.
29) 'the <b>bold</b> inquiry', 'the <b>courageous</b> challenge', 'the open mind', 'the uninhibited pursuit of truth', 'the indubitable proof', the 'self-evident conclusion'.
30) His name meant <b>courageous</b> , or <b>bold</b> .
31) The sound is <b>fearless</b> and <b>intrepid</b> , and the whole album teems with stratospheric energy, just the right side of grandiose.
32) The action takes place in tough Dodge City, Kansas during the 1880s, and centres on the lives and experiences of five people: Matt Dillon, the <b>dauntless</b> and <b>fearless</b> United States Marshal; Kitty Russell, proprietress of the Longbranch Saloon, a woman with a heart of gold who has eyes only for Dillon; Chester Goode, Matt's deputy; Doc Galen Adams, the kindly, dedicated physician; and Festus Hagen, Matt's unkempt, hillbilly deputy.
33) This makes intelligible the observation that 'in no work of art extant is an Amazon portrayed with infant or child', and that in Greek literature the most common epithets associated with the Amazons were terms like 'man-hating', 'warlustful', ' <b>dauntless</b> ', ' <b>fearless</b> ', 'man-subduing'.
34) Already involved with her longstanding boyfriend Neil Turley, Jenny declined his advances, but <b>undaunted</b> , <b>fearless</b> Frank phoned her on a regular basis and left messages with her unsuspecting boyfriend, a West Ham fan who was flattered that the team's top scorer was training so late at night.
35) Although Aurangzeb was held to be <b>bold</b> and <b>valiant</b> , he was capable of great dissimulation and hypocrisy.
<b>CARELESS</b>
36) It is the poverty of their own life which makes the poor content to inhabit 'unthinkable' houses ... which makes so many <b>careless</b> of cleanliness, listless about the unhealthy condition of their workshops, and <b>heedless</b> of anything beyond the enjoyment of a moment's excitement ...

37) For every incident which causes damage to a glider while it is being flown, there must be many more that happen because of <b>careless</b> or <b>thoughtless</b> ground handling.
38) Not that when apprenticeship is past he will do these things thoughtlessly, but in this context ' <b>thoughtless</b> ' means not 'unreasoning' but ' <b>heedless</b> '.
<b>CIVIL</b>
39) Always remain <b>polite</b> and <b>courteous</b> , even if the sale fails.
40) I, I don't say that it was like being grilled by the K G B he was [pause] most <b>polite</b> and <b>courteous</b> .
41) I mean the thing that they latch onto all the time is that they think it's perfectly reasonable that they should compliment a young woman and so on, and I do see, Bill, that this is a problem because these men have been brought up like this and they think of themselves as being <b>polite</b> and <b>courteous</b> and, you know, a little flirtatious and doing all the things that actually they were taught women like and is rather nice.
42) Clause 3, sub-section 1, paragraph IV most nearly embraces the <b>gallant</b> debate: 'Encouraging contractors' employees to have proper regard for the public, and to be <b>courteous</b> .'
43) He was generous, <b>courteous</b> and <b>chivalrous</b> .
<b>CONFIDENT</b>
44) What a mind is Mr Kaufman's, so <b>sure</b> there is nothing to be learned but what it wishes to learn, so serenely <b>confident</b> in its own perfected little judgement of what is a great and complex tragedy.
45) He was <b>sure</b> it had been there every night since, and Mrs Masters turned out to be equally <b>confident</b> that it had also been there during the day.
46) Pottz was <b>confident</b> of taking the world title, but less <b>sure</b> about the Triple Crown.
47) Only when we are <b>sure</b> that all possible test factors have been controlled can we feel <b>confident</b> that we understand the causal process at work.
48) Even if you are <b>confident</b> that your present arrangements are adequate can you be <b>sure</b> that nothing has been overlooked?
49) I am <b>sure</b> that you will be feeling more <b>confident</b> not only about your appearance, but also about your ability to persevere.
50) She felt <b>sure</b> and <b>confident</b> that they were true.
51) Whatever the pitfalls and problems ahead, Peter Osborne and Ralph Pickles remain <b>confident</b> about Quorn's future, <b>sure</b> that this product is right for a market that cares about healthy eating.
52) He was born <b>confident</b> , <b>sure</b> of himself.
53) This went on for well over a month, with the owls flying free in the barn, until we were <b>sure</b> they were <b>confident</b> and happy in their surroundings.
54) This new building was no doubt excellent of its kind, but if the intention had been to express <b>confident</b> authority tempered by humanity he wasn't <b>sure</b> that the architect had succeeded.
55) Even so, Microsoft Corp is <b>sure</b> to pitch its Windows/NT Unix-killer well below both the Destiny and Solaris 2.0 products, though SunSoft is <b>confident</b> that once networking, graphics, E-mail, a desktop environment and multi-media capabilities are added to NT, it won't be as cheap as many commentators believe.
56) Eighty-four per cent of the 711 men who are currently sexually active are <b>confident</b> they can let their partner know what they want to happen; 9% aren't <b>sure</b> and 7% say they can't.

57) Describing how the boys of Cable Street would ‘constitute themselves, without asking the permission of the War Office, into a small regiment’, Besant provided another inventory of this street-fighting armoury: Of the last point, I think we can be <b>sure</b> , although Walter Besant was obviously less <b>confident</b> that they were armed with ‘real’ guns.
58) Barbara was <b>confident</b> that he would, it was just his sort of evening, but I wasn't <b>sure</b> if I knew what John would enjoy any more.
59) Be <b>sure</b> that you know the name of the previous speaker so that you can say, ‘Thank you, George,’ <b>confident</b> that his name is not James.
60) Make <b>sure</b> you can be seen and wear a personal buoyancy aid until you feel <b>confident</b> with a harness — a strength-saving device allowing the sailor to be attached to the sail and use body weight more efficiently.
61) He was so strong and <b>confident</b> , so <b>sure</b> of himself, that it was a pity he held all women in contempt.
62) He was just too beautiful, too <b>confident</b> , too <b>sure</b> of himself.
63) After the coming of the Holy Spirit we might say that he is strong, <b>sure</b> , courageous, <b>confident</b> , powerful [pause] leader.
64) He was <b>sure</b> , strong, <b>confident</b> — and enraged.
65) You feel more <b>confident</b> don't you in a group situation if you know exactly what people er er know or what they don't know, cos there's nothing worse isn't there than to go in and thinking they may already know this, I might be going in an [unclear] teaching my grandmother to suck eggs here, I'm not <b>sure</b> what they know about this.
66) I'm <b>confident</b> that the scheme won't cost anything like as much as the estimate, but I'm, I'm <b>sure</b> it's right that it's been, having having done some background work to see how many people might claim it I'm confident that that we've erred on the safe side here by a substantial amount, and that's why I'm sure it can be met from the overall budget.
67) I'm confident that the scheme won't cost anything like as much as the estimate, but I'm, I'm sure it's right that it's been, having having done some background work to see how many people might claim it I'm <b>confident</b> that that we've erred on the safe side here by a substantial amount, and that's why I'm <b>sure</b> it can be met from the overall budget.
68) However, if it's something you're not very <b>confident</b> and <b>sure</b> about, quite often the presence of other people makes you fall to bits.
69) ‘But I am <b>sure</b> , you see, sublimely <b>confident</b> that she will come back to me.’
70) So <b>confident</b> now, so <b>sure</b> of him, she let her own heart speak.
71) You should be feeling <b>confident</b> , bold and assertive now making this an ideal time for meeting your boss or bank manager and getting support for a new idea, concept or venture that you're <b>sure</b> is a winner.
72) The situation basically is that I am <b>confident</b> I can come to accommodation with Norfolk from my way of thinking as the neighbouring Highway Authority, those the people we've got to er to make certain are on site, I'm <b>sure</b> , I'm <b>confident</b> enough to do that.
73) I'm pleased to say it's still holding out and I'm quietly <b>confident</b> that I'm going to complete this, and like I say, if I can er well, just get the local businesses in Bicester interested and to support me, I say however small, just a, you know, if they, a penny a mile from just a few of the businesses in Bicester and, well, the Bible school could have, you know, a few pounds coming to them, which I'm <b>sure</b> they'd be, you know, greatly received.
74) And I'm <b>sure</b> you'll see them in operation tomorrow, we've got six bowlers in all so we're fairly <b>confident</b> that we'll er bowl whatever the conditions.
<b>CONTEMPTIBLE</b>

75) He had previously written a journalistic piece about the killings, in which De Freitas figured as <b>shabby</b> and <b>contemptible</b> , and Gail Benson as a silly upper-class woman whose accessibility to the knife might almost have been construed as a last desperate act of Sixties modishness: an antic exported from Swinging London.
76) The real mother is only 24, wears <b>cheap, shabby</b> clothes, has stiff hair like straw, thin legs, says in a quiet moment 'I'd like to be a person like you' and smokes her cigarettes too low.
77) The colours all yelled at each other; most of the furniture was <b>cheap</b> and <b>shabby</b> and it was in a clutter of smelly untidiness, but the general effect was of a room somebody had made the best of according to their taste, and enjoyed living in.
78) What Daddy's got are three <b>cheap, shabby</b> shops selling cheap, shabby suits to cheap shabby fools who wouldn't recognise a decent cloth if it were shoved down their throats.
79) What Daddy's got are three cheap, shabby shops selling <b>cheap, shabby</b> suits to cheap shabby fools who wouldn't recognise a decent cloth if it were shoved down their throats.
80) What Daddy's got are three cheap, shabby shops selling cheap, shabby suits to <b>cheap shabby</b> fools who wouldn't recognise a decent cloth if it were shoved down their throats.
81) McAllister, clad in her <b>shabby</b> bottle-green dress enlivened at the throat by a bit of <b>cheap</b> lace, her serviceable shoes on her feet, her hair simply tied up in a knot on top of her head, her hands red raw from hard and constant manual work, resignedly straightened up, to meet the gaze of Havvie and his friends.
<b>COVETOUS</b>
82) The Periplus also describes Zoscales, King of Aksum, as "a <b>covetous</b> and <b>grasping</b> man but otherwise noble, and imbued with Greek learning" .
83) The star of the show, of course, was Ebenezer Scrooge, the <b>greedy, grasping</b> grouch with a heart as hard as left-over Christmas pud.
84) In terms of Sioux values, the <b>acquisitive</b> individual of Western society would at best be regarded as peculiar and more probably would be condemned as <b>grasping</b> , self-seeking and antisocial.
<b>DISHONEST</b>
85) She hated anything <b>deceitful</b> or <b>dishonest</b> and would never listen to tittle-tattle about another girl behind her back.
86) We cannot close our eyes to the fact that if the arguments advanced on behalf of the appellant in relation to this ground of appeal are soundly based, then there is, not a small lacuna, but a yawning gap in the protection for the public afforded by section 16 of the Act of 1968 through which a large number of <b>dishonest</b> persons can — by arranging matters so that they come within the definition of 'self-employed' — escape conviction and punishment for the kind of <b>deceitful</b> conduct of which the jury, by their verdicts in the instant case, found this appellant to be guilty.
87) President Ali Akbar Rafsanjani on the same day dismissed the reports as " <b>mendacious</b> propaganda and blackmail" , saying: "We must make America understand that today one cannot use the <b>deceitful</b> weapon of disarmament to threaten other countries and to interfere in their affairs. "
88) Most of what they do and others do to them is illegal, <b>deceitful</b> and <b>untruthful</b> .
89) It offended the religious, because it seemed to make God out to be <b>untruthful</b> or <b>deceitful</b> ; in the scientific age, science was after all a route to truth, and only the Devil was the father of lies.
<b>FAITHFUL</b>

90)	Equally <b>loyal</b> and effective was the Lady-in-Waiting, the Duchess de Bassano, whose husband was Grand Chamberlain of the Court, and whose devotion to their sovereigns was such that they followed them into exile, remaining <b>faithful</b> unto death.
91)	Are you a hard worker; are you <b>loyal</b> , trustworthy or <b>faithful</b> ?
92)	Both will vow to say 'loving, <b>faithful</b> and <b>loyal</b> until God shall separate us by death' before the Rev Keith Angus.
93)	Following Church of Scotland tradition, the couple promised to be 'loving, <b>faithful</b> and <b>loyal</b> , until God shall part us by death.'
94)	He provides for her and his family, and in return she cares for him and is <b>loyal</b> to him ... and <b>faithful</b> .
95)	She could not now pretend that none of this was known to her, that she was still simply a diligent and <b>faithful</b> daughter, <b>loyal</b> handmaid of a noble art.
96)	These hints had their final expression in an astonishing personal letter written by Knox to Mary on 26 October 1559, claiming that 'if it be the office of a very friend to give <b>true</b> and <b>faithful</b> counsel to them whom he sees run to destruction for lack of the same, I could not be proven enemy to your Grace but rather a friend unfeigned' — even if moderation was never Knox's strong suit and so, unable to keep up the quiet tone of the letter, he felt impelled to throw in a postscript: 'God move your heart yet in time to consider that ye fight not against man, but against the eternal God, and against his Son Jesus Christ, the only Prince of the kings of the earth.'
97)	When parents are <b>faithful</b> to each other, it's more likely that their children will grow up to be <b>true</b> to each other , too.
98)	Then she turned to me: 'Always be <b>faithful</b> and <b>true</b> , Simon.
99)	'I ask that henceforth, whatsoever the provocation and difficulties, you will remain <b>loyal</b> and <b>true</b> to the lady Anne — as to a sister.'
100)	Although Barber found himself in the political wilderness with the Tories' fall from power after the death of Queen Anne in 1715, he remained <b>loyal</b> to his friends and <b>true</b> to his Tory principles.
101)	'He was a <b>true</b> friend in every sense of the word, <b>loyal</b> and compassionate; his modesty was his dominant characteristic.
102)	In 1886 he met Oscar Wilde [q.v.]; their friendship developed slowly, but in 1895, when Wilde was sentenced to two years' hard labour for homosexual crimes, Ross was his most <b>constant</b> and <b>loyal</b> friend.
103)	He was such a <b>loyal</b> , <b>staunch</b> and tender-hearted friend of my family, and such an outgoing man.
104)	A People's Daily editorial of Jan. 16, 1990, entitled Leadership must be in the hands of <b>loyal</b> Marxists, called for the dismissal of party leaders "who do not have a firm political stand or <b>staunch</b> political qualities" , while Qiao Shi (a member of the politburo standing committee who had risen to prominence in the immediate aftermath of the Tiananmen massacre — see p. 36721) called for "particular efforts" to be made in strengthening party centralism and unity, and urged increased supervision over the implementation of central committee decisions at all levels.
105)	Liza was unaware that she was but the female counterpart of her father; for Harriet, <b>resolute</b> and <b>loyal</b> to the last, had managed to keep any knowledge of Tom's countless affairs from his daughter.
106)	Until her accession her only <b>true</b> , <b>constant</b> , and ever-present friend and champion was Lehzen.
107)	They have pledged to be <b>true</b> , and <b>constant</b> , but all their vows are cheapened by this perfunctory aubade: it makes them seem like verbal foreplay.

108)	Centre-forward Tom White was Manager Bert Head's primary target at Pittodrie, but he brought John McCormick back with him as well from the Granite City for a mere £1,500 — and it was the craggy defender who became such a <b>staunch</b> and <b>resolute</b> pillar of Palace rearguards and helped guide the club through to 1st Division security.
<b>FIERCE</b>	
109)	In its appeal AI also expressed dismay at reports that Iraqi Kurds who returned to Arbil in northern Iraq following a government announcement of an amnesty for Kurds on 5 April were arbitrarily arrested, summarily executed or subjected to forms of <b>cruel, inhuman</b> or degrading treatment.
110)	Around the world today, more than 100 countries still retain the death penalty, and two out of every three human beings live under governments that use torture and other <b>cruel, inhuman</b> and degrading treatment against them.
111)	The products of the repression trade may be of two types: equipment for torture, execution of those which result in ' <b>cruel inhuman</b> or degrading treatment' such as leg irons; or equipment which can have an every day use, such as computers and telecommunications (this category also includes items such as tear-gas and hand guns which can be used legitimately for law-enforcement or crime prevention).
112)	The law should prohibit: the export of military, security and police equipment and training where these can reasonably be assumed to contribute to human rights abuses; the manufacture of equipment which can only be used for torture or other <b>cruel, inhuman</b> and degrading treatment of prisoners.
113)	Members work within a closely defined mandate: to seek the release of prisoners of conscience — people imprisoned solely for their beliefs, colour, ethnic origin, sex, language or religion, provided they have neither used nor advocated the use of violence; to oppose the death penalty, torture and other <b>cruel, inhuman</b> or degrading treatment or punishment of all prisoners; and to end extrajudicial executions and 'disappearances'.
114)	Amnesty International considers flogging to be <b>cruel, inhuman</b> and degrading punishment prohibited internationally by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
115)	Amnesty strives to stop rape because, in keeping with our mandate, it is seen by us as ' <b>cruel and inhuman</b> '; not because of the social consequences.
116)	Members work within a closely defined mandate: to seek the release of prisoners of conscience — people imprisoned solely for their beliefs, colour, ethnic origin, sex, language or religion, provided they have neither used nor advocated the use of violence; to ensure fair and prompt trials for political prisoners; to oppose the death penalty, torture and other <b>cruel, inhuman</b> or degrading treatment or punishment of all prisoners.; and to end extrajudicial executions and 'disappearances'.
117)	CONDITIONS ON DEATH ROW ARE OFTEN <b>CRUEL AND INHUMAN</b> .
118)	<b>Cruel, inhuman</b> or degrading treatment:
119)	In particular those articles of the statute survive which forbid <b>cruel, inhuman</b> , or degrading punishment.
120)	Claudia could see that locking up a Masai for a crime he did not understand was <b>cruel and inhuman</b> .
121)	How can a tiny creature like you have such <b>inhuman, cruel</b> ideas?
122)	Mentally disordered people are still subject to grossly <b>inhuman</b> , degrading or <b>cruel</b> practices, and serious problems have surfaced in large NHS mental hospitals, local authority-run residential homes, small, privately owned hostels and homes and units run by large profit-making corporations.
123)	Amnesty International urged the government to put into practice the provisions of the 1984 UN Convention against Torture and Other <b>Cruel, Inhuman</b> or Degrading Treatment



	or Punishment [see pp. 33618-19], which Austria had ratified in 1987.
124)	The UN Human Rights Commission had declared that the Jamaican government had violated their rights, subjecting them to " <b>cruel, inhuman</b> and degrading" treatment in contravention of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which Jamaica was a signatory.
125)	The departure of Gates coincided with the release of a report by the human rights group Amnesty International which condemned the LAPD for routinely using excessive force and " <b>cruel, inhuman</b> or degrading treatment" particularly against black and Hispanic suspects.
126)	She had begun to need her rage and her hate, even of late her <b>fierce cruel</b> fantasies.
127)	Dávila, however, was a bully, a <b>cruel</b> and insecure man whose constant attacks on the Indians succeeded in turning them from 'sheep', as Balboa called them, into ' <b>fierce</b> lyons'.
128)	During <b>fierce</b> street fighting around the temple of Myrmidia, the warrior goddess of Estalia, a group of knights found themselves surrounded by the dreaded Black Guard led by Emir Wasr the <b>Cruel</b> .
129)	But they all look <b>fierce</b> and <b>cruel</b> .
130)	In the space of one page he describes it as 'indescribably <b>cruel</b> and insane ... <b>savage</b> , insensate, barely conceivable to the well-constructed imagination', 'boring' and 'demoralizing'.
131)	The perception that a <b>cruel savage</b> cycle of fertility underlay all the trappings of modern life only served to emphasize for Eliot that there was a higher life, though one infinitely difficult to attain.
132)	<b>Cruel</b> , a little, but not <b>savage</b> : Alix could see Hannah smiling gamely, taking it in good part, and wondered if she was also taking in the rather subtle sub-text of allusions to drugs other than nicotine.
133)	League of <b>Cruel</b> Sports helpers caught the <b>savage</b> death of a fox on camera in almost total detail.
134)	Giles's straw-yellow hair was <b>fierce</b> above his veined brick-red face, his grey eyes glittered with <b>truculent</b> frustrated aggression, the rage of a thousand ideologically committed drinking sessions in dirty pubs surged in his weeping Camden-Lock-shirted chest.
135)	Freely adapted from Christopher Marlowe 's play of the 1590's, this contemporary version of Edward II by Derek Jarman , tells an extraordinary story of tragic love, <b>fierce</b> ambition and <b>barbarous</b> revenge.
136)	The <b>fierce</b> row over threatened <b>savage</b> spending cuts intensified after Mr Major refused to rule anything out in the effort to claw back the Government's £50 billion deficit.
137)	They did not look like the kind of people she usually associated with but seemed inimical, common, even <b>savage</b> , and with <b>truculent</b> , peevish faces.
138)	'The conditions up there in December are <b>savage</b> — <b>ferocious</b> winds and extreme cold,' said Himalayas expert Bonington.
139)	The pamphlet said: 'The evidence is overwhelming that he arranged the perpetration of a major war crime in the full knowledge that the most <b>barbarous</b> and dishonourable aspects of his operations were throughout disapproved and unauthorised by the higher command, and in the full knowledge that a <b>savage</b> fate awaited those he was repatriating.
140)	15.16–72): "The settlers from Phocaea, though surrounded by arrogant tribes and kept in awe by the <b>savage</b> rites of their <b>barbarous</b> neighbours, still retain the manners and dress of their ancient home among warlike populations. "
<b>HUMBLE</b>	

141)	Described by his colleagues as a <b>humble</b> superstar, Okoye earns a relatively <b>modest</b> \$215,000 (£145,000) a year.
142)	We have marvelled over the years at the couples who, with very <b>humble</b> means, managed <b>modest</b> but lovely homes and were never financially embarrassed.
143)	Whilst these professional 'robots' use pneumatics, the same effect can be achieved, on a more <b>modest</b> scale, with the <b>humble</b> radio control servo.
144)	When one tries to analyse the real reasons for the respect which French cookery has so long exacted from the rest of the world, the French genius for presentation must be counted as a very relevant point, and its <b>humble</b> beginnings can be seen on the market stalls, in the small town charcutiers' and pâtissiers' shops, in the <b>modest</b> little restaurants where even if the cooking is not particularly distinguished, the most ordinary of little dishes will be brought to your table with respect, properly arranged on a serving dish, the vegetables separately served, the object of arousing your appetite will be achieved and the proprietors of the establishment will have made the most of their limited resources.
145)	As a prime minister he probably ranked with Ramsay MacDonald in <b>humble</b> origin and <b>modest</b> wealth.
146)	The significance of the birth of Christ is not the sudden appearance of angels all over the place, but the fact that such an important person was born in the most <b>humble</b> surroundings — in a poor and <b>lowly</b> stable.
147)	Your <b>lowly</b> beast, your <b>humble</b> mule,
148)	The greatly affluent in sumptuous equipage, as they pass the cheerful dwelling of the careless rustic ... involuntarily sigh as they behold the <b>modest</b> care-excluding mansion of the <b>lowly</b> contented; and often from the belief that solid comfort can be found only in retirement, forsake their noisy abodes, to unload their oppressing inquietudes in the tranquil retreat of the rural shelter.
149)	A group signs with a record company at a <b>modest</b> royalty rate, in direct proportion to their <b>lowly</b> status and their impatience to become stars.
<b>IGNORANT</b>	
150)	And in a society ruled by money and false morals, these grey people still often win, in the ceaseless struggle between personal profit and the common good: the <b>ignorant</b> , <b>illiterate</b> , hypocritical Town Council, the blinkered planning officers, the successful local speculators (nicknamed the Mafia) who flew their own flag over their local headquarters, as if they were a private army — all the holier than Thou brigade.
151)	There was 'enough sentiment', he admitted, 'enough fire ... to lead people to put their lives and their families on the line for the cause', but the cause was a mess; too many different groups, no means of making political capital out of them, and 'guys running around in the hills ... <b>illiterate</b> , <b>ignorant</b> campesinos'.
152)	'Can we afford', it asked, 'to leave our National and Imperial interests to the control of an <b>ignorant</b> and <b>illiterate</b> and unprogressive democracy?'
153)	To cling to a Polish identity was to exclude oneself from the German monopoly on higher education and from all but menial employment in industry; given the rapid depopulation of the countryside it was also to insist on the right to become and remain part of a backward, <b>ignorant</b> , <b>illiterate</b> , inward-looking agrarian people, stuck in a rural backwater with no access to the outside world, with scant interest from that world and little hope of progress.
154)	He said: 'He's only one voice and a pathetically <b>uneducated</b> and <b>ignorant</b> one.'
155)	'You are an <b>ignorant</b> , <b>uneducated</b> girl and now you've delivered your message, you'd better leave.'

156)	The learner is seen as in one of two fixed states also: as the <b>ignorant</b> or <b>uneducated</b> recipient prior to the insertion of knowledge, and as the educated person or product of the school.
157)	Thomas Mayer and his son, Thomas Walton Mayer of Newcastle-under-Lyme, sent to every veterinary surgeon in the United Kingdom the draft of a memorial addressed to the governors of the London College, with the ultimate objective of gaining a Charter of Incorporation 'to protect us from <b>illiterate</b> and <b>uneducated</b> men, and to afford us the same privileges and exemptions which other professional bodies possess'.
158)	She was an aristocrat and woman of royal blood, who had seen the throne pass in 518 not to her son (who had married the Emperor Anastasius's daughter), but to an <b>uneducated</b> provincial, Justin, the <b>illiterate</b> soldier-son of an Illyrian peasant.
159)	Membership of the NKLP was estimated at nearly 700,000 in a pyramidal structure at the base of which 'is an enormous mass of virtually <b>illiterate</b> farmers, numbering perhaps half a million, as well as about 180,000 <b>uneducated</b> factory workers'.
<b>LOVING</b>	
160)	Much patience is needed, but when eventually the cat does accept its new home, it will probably become the most <b>loving</b> and <b>affectionate</b> of all feline pets.
161)	When we talk of the in-love state, we are usually including strong sexual passion and an intensity of emotion not experienced in other <b>affectionate</b> and <b>loving</b> relationships.
162)	'Your <b>affectionate loving</b> cousin 'ELIZABETH WOODVILLE'
163)	Two <b>loving</b> and <b>affectionate</b> young cats, just one year old, brother and sister, both neutered.
164)	Mrs Copperfield's <b>devoted</b> servant and David's <b>loving</b> nurse, who marries Barkis the carrier after her dismissal by Murdstone.
165)	His brother Gary said Mr Dearlove had two children an 11-year-old boy and seven-year-old girl and described him as 'a <b>loving</b> and <b>devoted</b> father'.
166)	This Act of 1806 may well have given young Ben the final push he needed: in that or the following year he packed his bags for good, waved his <b>loving</b> sisters a <b>fond</b> farewell, and set off for London, fame and fortune.
167)	Despite being a <b>loving</b> child, <b>fond</b> of his parents' and teacher's attention, he had serious temper tantrums at both home and school.
168)	All the family were very <b>fond</b> of tiny Helen, who was a gentle <b>loving</b> girl.
169)	'The prince was <b>affectionate</b> by nature, he was <b>devoted</b> to his mother and to a major-domo of his parents' days, a man called Socrate, and there was one horse, Archimede, he could never do enough for, but his love was for Constanza, Castelfonte and the Marchesa Giulia.
170)	She was <b>fond</b> of me — no virtue on my part, she was an <b>affectionate</b> woman by nature — and wanted me to be happy.
171)	Oh, my word, she thought, as, though he favoured her with a <b>fond</b> look, the cool calculating gleam in Naylor's eyes showed he wasn't too impressed to have landed himself such a <b>devoted</b> fiancée.
<b>OBSTINATE</b>	
172)	There's a <b>stubborn</b> clinging to bad habits that benign social planners and therapists would like to 'liberate' us from, an <b>obstinate</b> refusal to 'move on up' and make something of oneself.
173)	'You are the most <b>obstinate, stubborn</b> , pigheaded man I've ever had the misfortune to come across.'
174)	'You are the most obstinate, <b>stubborn, pigheaded</b> man I've ever had the misfortune

	to come across.'
175)	<b>Stubborn</b> , proud, and often <b>stiff-necked</b> and argumentative.
176)	Hence also the exaggerated tribalism, the <b>bullheaded</b> racism of an Alf Garnett, the <b>dogged</b> male chauvinism of an Andy Capp.
<b>SHY</b>	
177)	There must have been a proportion of <b>shy</b> , <b>bashful</b> ones around, but they were not in evidence amongst the mob which harassed us day by day as we tried to make our way around the town on our own affairs.
178)	Doesn't seem the <b>shy</b> or <b>bashful</b> type.'
179)	The confidence of those words confirmed that in two and a half years Neighbours — the show which baffled the critics as its banality won millions of fans around the world — had transformed the <b>shy diffident</b> Kylie into an ambitious young woman.
180)	These are people who were too proud to register for compensation, who were <b>shy</b> about meeting delegations from Tokyo and who were <b>diffident</b> about making a political issue over 'our little pollution incident'.
181)	From being a painfully <b>shy</b> , <b>diffident</b> recluse, he suddenly metamorphosed into a garrulous and sometimes painfully overbearing extrovert.
182)	Despite a <b>shy</b> and <b>diffident</b> manner, Davison was a hard-working and gifted teacher of endless patience.
183)	He was of a <b>shy</b> , <b>diffident</b> , and even morbid temperament, a characteristic which enabled him to mix on more intimate terms than other collectors with the somewhat shy but more forceful and eccentric Turner.
184)	He seemed <b>diffident</b> , even <b>shy</b> .
185)	In 1957 Fortune magazine published a list of America's richest men, putting at the top the <b>shy</b> , reclusive, almost unknown J. Paul Getty, who turned out to be living in a <b>modest</b> room at the Ritz Hotel, London, conducting his world-wide oil business through the hotel switchboard with the minimum secretarial help.
186)	To complete the portrait took three sittings and each time, to Indenbaum's surprise, Modigliani turned up clean-shaven and well-groomed, and behaved in a <b>modest</b> , almost <b>shy</b> manner.
187)	What I am now describing, incidentally, is one of many instances I could relate to you to underline Lord Darlington's essentially <b>shy</b> and <b>modest</b> nature.
188)	<b>Shy</b> and <b>modest</b> , Pauline Ashley says only: 'I just do what a wife has to.
189)	Your Committee being by nature <b>shy</b> , retiring, <b>modest</b> people, would be the last to compare themselves with the Captains and Kings — more like your temporary, acting, unpaid Lance Corporals, — Dogsbodies one and all.
190)	'She is more <b>modest</b> ,' he said lamely, 'more <b>shy</b> and retiring.'
191)	The <b>bashful</b> , wounded virginity, such <b>coy</b> shrinking to inflame the passions even more — as I know to my cost — and then, when she's finished with you, rejection.
<b>SUAVE</b>	
192)	At her side, introducing her to people, encouraging her to elaborate on some of her ideas for the future, Luke was <b>urbane</b> , expressing only <b>suave</b> approval, and no one could have guessed at the personal contempt he felt for her, not a hint of it — or anything else personal either — allowed to show through his sophisticated public manner.
193)	Rocking gently in his chair, his expression <b>bland</b> , he was the epitome of the <b>suave</b> , impeccable businessman.
194)	The invariably <b>suave</b> vocals bring to mind the phrase ' <b>smooth</b> operator', and the only people who want to be smoothies are Thatcherite southern spivs.

195)	Roger Moore lacked the toughness of Sean Connery, but gives a <b>smooth, suave</b> performance in this wildly improbable story.
196)	Hayden Phillips, <b>smooth, urbane</b> , the kind of establishment figure that the Thatcherites liked to take on, he has had a brilliant career which started in the Home Office, took him to Brussels as chef de cabinet to Roy Jenkins and then to the Treasury as Deputy Secretary.
197)	But Goibniu was <b>smooth</b> and courteous; he was very nearly <b>urbane</b> .
198)	Receptionists are expected to be charming, tactful, <b>diplomatic</b> and capable of dealing with members of the public as well as carrying out the innumerable tasks that ensure the <b>smooth</b> and efficient running of the office.
199)	He smiled, watching the <b>smooth</b> , impenetrable <b>diplomatic</b> faces that maintained their benign reasonableness even for him.
200)	The line was surprisingly good, free from the usual squawks and clicks, and coming through, <b>smooth, bland</b> , was the voice of Uncle Karl.
201)	WHERNSIDE RISES to 2419 feet above the sea and is the highest, largest and least attractive of the Three Peaks; indeed, unlike the other two, this great hill hardly deserves to be described as a peak, its <b>smooth, bland</b> outline nowhere suggesting a steep angular summit.
202)	It produced <b>smooth, bland</b> sheets of text that Anna's publishers greatly preferred to the characterful efforts of her previous old portable.
203)	It added interest to a face that otherwise would have appeared too white, <b>smooth</b> and <b>bland</b> .
204)	Roman's voice was <b>smooth, bland</b> .
<b>WISE</b>	
205)	The execution ... of the Saviour's plan required the <b>prudent</b> application of <b>wise</b> and well-judged measures so as not to injure private property, not to disturb civil order, not to expose Christianity to the scandal of sedition, not to obscure the glory of a Kingdom not of this world.
206)	Lovat ended that appeal by emphasising his belief that it was 'a most <b>wise &amp; prudent</b> maxim that a man in power should do for those that he is pretty sure will stand & fall with him in all events', and in general that was the major qualification for appointment to the judicial bench in eighteenth-century Scotland.
207)	The Queen, however, was notably warm towards Lee in her speeches, describing him as one of the Commonwealth's "sturdiest sheet anchors, <b>prudent</b> in counsel and <b>wise</b> in judgment".
208)	It is hoped that the last has been heard of the practice (see contributory cause (a)) and that for the future it will be abandoned for what we now know to be more <b>prudent</b> and <b>wiser</b> measures.
209)	As though he had always known the Wall should disappear, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevarnadze, described as ' <b>wise</b> and <b>sensible</b> ' the East German decision to open it up.
210)	Even the most experienced managers cannot tell how, when and in which projects delays are going to occur; the <b>wise</b> accounting officer discounts his programmes by an arbitrary percentage judged from past experience to be <b>sensible</b> for his particular field of responsibility: that is to say he keeps in his programme some ten to twenty per cent more potential expenditure than his financial allocation theoretically allows.
211)	So, sometimes we get this feeling of empathy and do things with a horse that would not seem to be <b>wise</b> or <b>sensible</b> ; but we 'know' that it will be all right, and it is!

212)	Insurance policies, <b>wise</b> investments, <b>sensible</b> diets and burglar alarms: if only we can lay down enough of them, the reasoning goes, we can maybe hold the fort against the chaos that rages outside.
213)	It may be <b>wise</b> and <b>sensible</b> advice given certain circumstances.
214)	Both Father and Mother had been through difficult times financially in their twenties but Father had founded a fine family business in London which flourished and while both of them were <b>wise</b> and <b>sensible</b> about money there was never any lack of it and funds were available for anything that would widen our horizons and education.
215)	In the evaluation report some <b>wise</b> and many <b>sensible</b> things were said.
216)	Would not it be legally <b>wise</b> and politically <b>sensible</b> not to go ahead with the compulsory order to bring in bulldozers until difficulties with the European Commission and local people have been resolved?
217)	With increases in rates paid by the tenant, the people were 'awakening to the fact that the Alliance stood for a <b>saner</b> and <b>wiser</b> administration of public affairs'.
218)	Will my right hon. Friend contrast the <b>judicious</b> , <b>prudent</b> and honourable way in which he and his right hon. Friends are negotiating in the European talks with the cynical sell-out proposed by the right hon. Member for Islwyn (Mr. Kinnock)?
219)	The solutions are found each year through a <b>judicious</b> mixture of strong quantitative forecasting, relying on the student management system (see Chapter 7) and <b>sensible</b> qualitative judgement.
220)	Lending money to someone who is unlikely to be able to pay back all their obligations is like betting on a probable loser: hardly a <b>sensible</b> way for a <b>prudent</b> lender to do business.
221)	However, it would be <b>prudent</b> and <b>sensible</b> to place the UKCC under the regular inspection of the Audit Commission as an assurance to the professions of the UKCC's commitment to sound and open financial management.
222)	Those parties for whom work is to be done or who themselves are doing work for engineers must be aware of the inherent uncertainties involved in the project and negotiate a <b>sensible</b> and commercially <b>prudent</b> apportionment of liability.
223)	Just when you're looking forward to pushing the boat out and having a spending spree, your <b>sensible</b> side reminds you of all the practical and <b>prudent</b> things you should be doing with any extra money you have.
224)	Cleveland county councillor Mr Keith Legg said that ' <b>sensible</b> and <b>prudent</b> budgeting' meant the county council had come very close to estimating the actual pay rise when drawing up spending plans for the coming financial year.
225)	In fact, if you are a <b>sane</b> and <b>sensible</b> Aquarian, you will leave matters well alone, both personally and at work, until after the Full Moon on the 14th.
226)	He was such a <b>sane</b> and <b>sensible</b> man.'
227)	It felt too much as if she was shunting him off for her own convenience, even though she knew that it was the only <b>sane</b> and <b>sensible</b> thing to do.
228)	To begin with, I pay tribute to an intervention made by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, South-West (Mr. Budgen) who, earlier today, rightly pointed out that in a democracy Parliament should be expected to debate a measure such as this in a <b>sane</b> and <b>sensible</b> fashion.
229)	Nobody who is <b>sensible</b> or <b>sane</b> would say that we should export more arms to a country that is already awash with them, because it would do little more than increase the bloodshed that has already stained that country.
230)	Erm, I think that we have a very <b>sane</b> , <b>sensible</b> budget proposed here, and I trust that every sensible councillor will support it.